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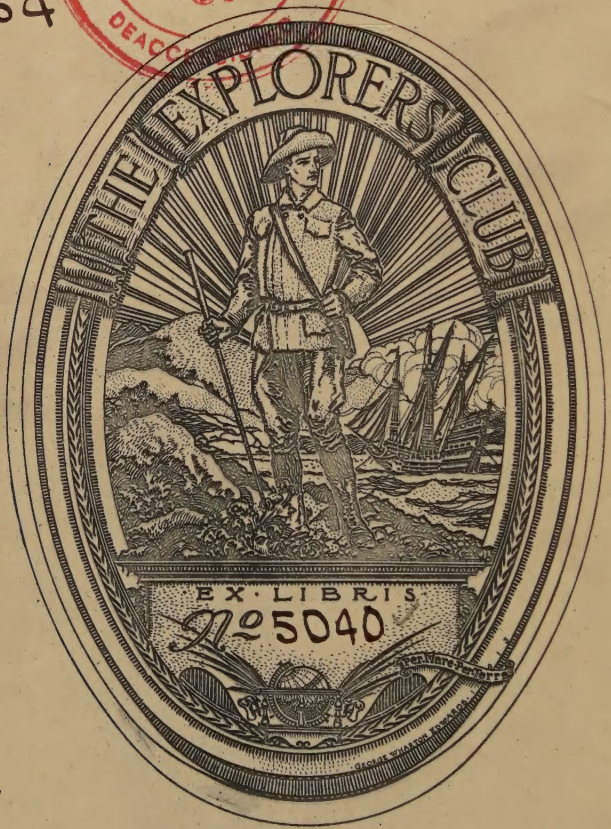

PRESENTED BY
James B. Ford

LOUISIANA UNDER THE RULE OF SPAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

Long. 100° West from 90° Greenwich
120°
110°
80°
70°
C A N A D A
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
M E X I C O
OREGON TERRITORY
PARTLY CLAIMED THROUGH LOUISIANA PURCHASE
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
(FROM FRANCE)
1803
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
N. DAKOTA
S. DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
NEBRASKA
COLORADO
KANSAS
IOWA
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
NEVADA
UTAH
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
TENNESSEE
KENTUCKY
OHIO
INDIANA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VERMONT
N.H.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
N.J.
DEL.
MD.
VIRGINIA
W. VIRGINIA
N. CAROLINA
S. CAROLINA
Seattle
Olympia
Portland
Columbia R.
Missouri R.
Red R.
Helena
Bismarck
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Snake R.
Great Salt L.
Salt Lake City
Cheyenne
Des Moines
Omaha
Chicago
Platte R.
Denver
Kansas City
St. Louis
Arkansas R.
Oklahoma
Santa Fe
Colorado R.
Phoenix
Los Angeles
San Francisco
Carson City
El Paso
Dallas
Austin
Little Rock
Red R.
Mississippi R.
New Orleans
Galveston
Corpus Christi
Rio Grande
Mobile
Tampa
Jacksonville
Savannah
Charleston
Wilmington
Norfolk
Richmond
Washington
Cincinnati
Ohio R.
Detroit
L. Michigan
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ont.
Buffalo
Cleveland
Pittsburg
Philadelphia
New York
Boston
Portland
Quebec
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
A.B.N.CO., N.Y.

LOUISIANA

UNDER THE RULE OF
SPAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES
1785-1807

Social, Economic, and Political Conditions
of the Territory represented in the
Louisiana Purchase

as portrayed in hitherto unpublished contemporary accounts
by DR. PAUL ALLIOT and various Spanish, French,
English, and American Officials

Translated or transcribed from the original manuscripts, edited,
annotated, and with bibliography and index by

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

With special map of the Territory and
other early maps and plans

VOLUME I

CLEVELAND, OHIO
THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
1911

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JAMES A. ROBERTSON

THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS
IOWA

TO
MY SISTER ELIZABETH

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

PREFACE 13

BIBLIOGRAPHY 19

DOCUMENTS:

July 1, 1803-April 13, 1804. Lorient, France and New York. Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana (French and English texts). By Paul Alliot . . 29

Annotations to preceding Documents . . . 145

Ca. 1785 [New Orleans]. Political Reflections on the present conditions of the province of Louisiana. By Intendant Martin de Navarro 235

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November 24, 1794. New Orleans. Military Report on Louisiana and West Florida. By Baron de Carondelet 291

June 26 and July 22, 1798. Aranjuez and Madrid. Minister Alvarez to the Captain-general of Cuba . . 347

November 13, 1799. San Lorenzo. Minister Caballero to Minister Coruel 353

Instructions by Minister Decres to French Officials –

I An xi, 5 Frimaire [November 26, 1802]. Paris. Secret instructions for the Captain-general of Louisiana 361

II An xi, 16 Frimaire [December 7, 1802]. Paris. Instructions for Laussat 375

5040

ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOLUME I

MAP OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE . . . *Frontispiece*

PLAN SHOWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE GREAT CONFLAGRATION OF NEW ORLEANS, 1788 . . . . *facing page* 59
From *Tenth Census of the United States*, "Social Statistics of Cities," part ii (vol. xix in series)

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES, 1829, SHOWING EXTENT OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE TERRITORY ACQUIRED BECAUSE OF IT . . . . . *facing page* 100
From Barbé-Marbois's Histoire de la Louisiane (Paris, 1829)

MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1788 273
From original in the Library of Congress

TRUDEAU'S PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS AND ADJACENT PLANTATIONS, 1798 321
From a reproduction of map in the Library of Congress.

We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America.

– Robert R. Livingston.

A sentiment superior even to glory seemed to animate the three ministers and never perhaps did negotiators taste a purer joy.

– François Barbé-Marbois.

This accession of territory for ever assures the territory of the United States. I have just given England a maritime rival who sooner or later will humble its pride. – Napoleon.

PREFACE

These volumes arose from the discovery in the Library of Congress of the manuscript *Reflexions* of Dr. Paul Alliot. The circumstances of the period in which the manuscript was written, its dedication to President Jefferson, and its subject matter, all rendered its publication desirable. It is accordingly presented herewith in literal English translation, and for the benefit of any who may wish to consult the original French, it is reproduced in that language exactly as written by its author.

The *Reflexions* are somewhat copiously annotated by excerpts and notes from accounts by various French travelers in America during the general period of the Louisiana transfer, especially Berquin-Duvallon, Perrin du Lac, and Robin, whose remarks corroborate, extend, or correct the observations of Alliot, as well as by much material taken from various other sources. The object throughout has been to bring out, in as clear detail as possible, the topography of the country, the description of the various settlements, and the social and economic life of the period in the territory known as the Louisiana Purchase, although with especial reference to its more southern part. It is hoped that considerable material has here been presented for the study and reconstruction of Louisiana life during the closing years of the Spanish rule and the beginnings of American government.

Adams in his history of the Jefferson administration

has portrayed in a remarkable manner the social and economic aspects of the thirteen English colonies and the youthful United States arising therefrom; and has succeeded to a remarkable degree in showing the forces at work among the people, from which was to arise something nobler than the world had yet seen. Alliot and the French travelers have, in a sense, done the same for Louisiana; and to us who read today, they have shown that from the conflicting elements of French, Spaniards, and Americans has arisen much that is fine in the present American life – a blend that is wholly American, but which, nevertheless, owes much to each of the nations that has contributed to it.

For the remaining documents in the two volumes, recourse has been had to the archives of Spain, Cuba, and the United States, many of the documents from the last-named country being copies from France and Spain. While in the main political in tone, they reflect the entire life of their period – possibly the most dramatic period of all American history – and supplement in many ways the first document. The status of Louisiana as a Spanish province is well set forth in the reports of the Spanish officials; the political and diplomatic events connected with the retrocession and transfer, in the correspondence of the French and Spanish officials (especially Talleyrand, Laussat, Casa Irujo, and Ceballos), as well as by that of the English ambassadors to the United States; and finally, the beginnings and difficulties of American rule, and the various problems met, are clearly stated in the correspondence of Governor Claiborne and others.

No attempt has been made to present all the documents relating to these matters. Such an undertaking would have swelled the present work beyond all propor-

tion. The student should consult the documents published by the United States government at the time of the exposition at St. Louis, in connection with the documents of these volumes.

All the documents presented in the present volumes have been carefully and literally translated, if in foreign languages, and exactly transcribed if in English. The space of this work has not permitted the reproduction of the original languages other than in that of the Alliot manuscript. The transcripts made in Spain and Cuba have been deposited in the Library of Congress and may be consulted there if the student or reader so desire.

The French papers, of which the most valuable exist in transcript in the State Department at Washington, are given here in full for the first time. They show the French intentions concerning Louisiana and their understanding concerning the boundaries and limits of the territory ceded. The Casa Irujo transcripts, also conserved in the same place, form a valuable collection. Most of the papers are presented, at least those of the collection that concern the retrocession by France and the cession to the United States. The papers concerning the Aaron Burr episode have not been used, as being outside the scope of the present work. The early American government of Louisiana is well shown in the Claiborne papers, which are also conserved in the State Department. From these papers it has been possible only to select representative documents, as their publication in their totality would require a special series. These letters and accompanying documents fill six large manuscript volumes and are all well worth publication, and it is hoped that such an enterprise will be undertaken. The other documents written in English have been chosen as illustrating the methods of the new

American government of Louisiana. In general the documents of both volumes group themselves about the central theme of the cession of Louisiana to the United States. The group arrangement has been selected as bringing into greater prominence the various elements of Spanish Louisiana, the retrocession to France, and the cession to the United States, and American beginnings of government.

It should be noted that the term Louisiana in the earliest of the Claiborne papers refers to the entire purchase; but that later letters refer only to the southern part which was called Orleans Territory, while the term "Louisiana" was applied to the northern part.

In part of the annotation some difficulty was encountered by the editor in not having at hand certain necessary books and documents, which were incident to his somewhat hasty departure for the Philippine Islands. In such cases, attempt has been made to state general sources of information. In several instances, it has been necessary, for the above cause to pass by points that needed annotation. The publication of both French and English of the Alliot Manuscript rendered necessary the placing of the annotation after that document. In the other documents, the usual footnote practice was adhered to.

The bibliography preceding the documents is not intended to be exhaustive, but to give the most evident and best sources for a study of the period. It was the first intention to compile a calendar of all the manuscript letters treating of Louisiana for the period embraced in the documents of the volumes, which exist in the Library of Congress and in the Department of State in Washington. For this, however, both space and time were lacking. Hence, the sources of such manuscript

material has been stated only roughly. The actual compilation of the bibliography was made while crossing the Pacific, and from data that while reasonably complete left something to be desired.

The most obvious fact, aside from the importance, politically and materially, of the transfer of Louisiana, is the hysteria that seems to have struck deep root into the very web and woof of Spanish officialdom – a hysteria lest the aggressive Americans deprive Spain of its choicest colonies, Mexico and Peru, whence flowed the wealth of the Indies in a silver stream to the mother country. It was a hysteria that was by no means feigned, but which was ever present to Spanish officials in America. This hysteria, dating from the very beginning of America, or possibly an inheritance from fear of the English, and the impetus for Spanish intrigue and attempt for many years, could not but be increased by the illegal transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States. It is discernible in the Spanish protests to both those countries, and in Spanish machinations among the Indian tribes. To isolate their frontiers from the dangers of possible invasion, and to prevent all foreign traders from entering their territory or the contiguous territory over which they had only indirect control: these had dictated Spanish policy for some decades, and had been the dream of Spanish officials. They set themselves squarely against commercial development, since that development seemed to them to point away from Spanish interests. The aggressiveness of the Americans, in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi and their arrogant overrunning of New Orleans and its vicinity, could do no less than intensify a fear already at fever point. Consequently, in the transfer of Louisiana and the approach of the Americans to their Mexican fron-

tiers, they saw only the ruin of all the Spanish colonies of the Americas and the end of their wonderful sovereignty over the Indies of the western continent – a fear that was to some degree justified both by preceding and by subsequent events.

This is no place to attempt to write the history of the period, which has been so well done by Mr. Adams, or to present any formal essay on any of the factors entering into that history. The editor and translator is content if these hitherto unpublished documents prove of service to the student and add their quota to the understanding of the great event of which they form a part.

The thanks of the editor are due to many who have aided him in his work and answered his appeals for information on various matters. These include many of the officials and staffs of the Library of Congress, especially Mr. Gaillard Hunt of the Division of Manuscripts and his entire staff, Mr. Charles Martel, of the Classifying Division, and Mr. Hugh Morrison, of the Reading Room; Mr. William McNair and Mr. J. Tonner, of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, of the Department of State, Washington; Dr. W. H. Holmes, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington; Mr. William Beer, of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans; Mr. Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, Missouri; Professor John W. Perrin, Librarian of Case Library, Cleveland; and Hatch Library of Western Reserve University, Cleveland.

J. A. R.

Manila, Philippine Islands, March 24, 1910.

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Manuscript Sources

These are fairly extensive and very valuable. Of prime importance are the papers conserved in the Library of Congress. These include:

I. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.
II. The Papers of James Madison.
III. The Papers of James Monroe.

In all three collections are many papers of interest and value dealing with the Louisiana of the period of these volumes. Many of these papers have been published (see below Printed Sources). To all three collections, calendars were published while they were still preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, in the Department of State at Washington.

The second great repository of manuscript sources is in the Bureau named above. There are deposited the Adams Transcripts which were gathered by the historian Henry B. Adams for his work *A History of the United States.* This collection of transcripts contains:

I. English State Papers, copied from English archives.
II. French State Papers, copied from French archives.
III. The Casa Yrujo Papers, copied from Spanish archives.

These papers while by no means complete show fairly well the diplomatic workings of the three countries above mentioned in regard to Louisiana from 1800-1804. It should be noted that not all of the papers touch our subject.

The Claiborne collection is perhaps as valuable as any of the papers in the Bureau of Rolls and Library. This collection consists of six volumes of bound manuscripts. These are for the most part letters from Governor Claiborne, although other papers are included. Volumes I and II relate to the territory of Louisiana (before its division) and the remaining volumes to the territory of Orleans. Other Claiborne papers (some of them duplicates of those in the collection above mentioned) are found in the Territorial Papers for Louisiana and Orleans Territories. The Claiborne Papers in Mississippi should also be consulted.

Some documents concerning this period are found in the transcripts lately made in Spain for the Department of Archives and History of Jackson,

Mississippi. Doubtless further investigation in the archives of England, France, and Spain (this last especially) will reveal many important documents.

For the special bibliographical data of the documents published in these volumes, consult the title-pages of the various documents themselves.

Printed Sources

The following list is by no means exhaustive. It aims simply to offer the student some of the best and most obvious printed sources, and some of those most easily accessible. In addition to the titles here presented, works on the Mississippi valley in general, and those touching the history of the south and southwest should be consulted, as well as works of travels. The last named are often valuable on the social side.

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HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL Reflections on Louisiana. By Paul Alliot. Lorient, July 1, 1803; New York, April 13, 1804.

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This manuscript is bound in a large folio volume. Sheet measures about sixteen by ten inches, consists of forty-four pages, of which four are blank, and several short. It is wrongly bound. After leaf 8 (numbered p. 14) what should be leaves 9-13 are paged, 23-26, and so bound in that order. The writing is legible and all in one hand; paper well preserved. Ink of good quality, and faded but very slightly. Paper good.

Reflexions historiques et politiques sur la Louysiane

en deux parties

Dediées a son excellence Monsieur Gefferson
president des etats unis de l'amerique

Par Paul Alliot medicin deporté de la nouvelle Orleans avec sa femme et Ses enfans en france le dix huit mars mil huit cent trios; et de retour a Neuve York avec sa famille le six avril mil huit cent quatre en vertu d'une permission du gouvernement français qui a reconnu son innocense et improuvé la conduite de ses ennemis.

Historical and political reflections on Louisiana

In two parts

Dedicated to His Excellency, Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States of America

By Paul Alliot,[1] physician, [who was] deported from New Orleans to France with his wife and children, March eighteen, one thousand eight hundred and three; and [who] returned to New York, with his family, April six, one thousand eight hundred and four, by virtue of a permit from the French government, which has recognized his innocence and disapproved of the conduct of his enemies.

A Son excellence

Son excellence Monsieur Geferson President des états unis de l'amerique.

Monsieur le president: La cession de la Louysiane que le gouvernement français a fait aux etats unis de l'amerique, doit être considerée comme un marché politique fondé sur la plus saine et la plus sage raison. par cette acquisition le gouvernement americain a donné á tous les gouvernemens du monde, surtout a ceux de l'Europe, une leçon de la plus haute sagesse. il leurs a apprist que les ventes et les achapts valaient bien mieux que les combats et les victoires quelques legitimes qu'ils fussent. honneur et grace soient rendus au chef de ce bon gouvernement qui a sçu pendant Son administration conserver la vie de ses administrés, en evitant l'effusion de leur sang si précieux. heureux mille fois heureux les peuples qui habitent un tel empire, et qui sont aussi sagement gouverné.

Si je l'avais toujours habité, ma famille et moi, nous aurions été a l'abri de la persecution la plus atroce que les mortels peuvent eprouver sur la terre, a la nouvelle orleans, ou j'y exerçais avec distinction mon etat de medicin. aujourdhuy que nous avons mis pied a terre sur ce sol libre, ou tous les hommes de quelques opinions ou religions qu'ils soient, y sont egalement protegé, par une reconnoissance permise et legitime, j'ai L'honneur d'adresser et de dedier a votre excellence mes reflexions, *sur la Louysiane*, que j'ai mis par ecrit dans les cachots de la nouvelle orleans.

Si l'on jugeait de la bonté ou de la pauvreté de cette vaste terre par sa population, l'on tomberait dans une erreur grossiere. car en voyageant dans toutes les possessions espagnoles de l'amerique que sont les plus etendues, et les plus riches du monde entier, l'on voit que les

To His Excellency

His Excellency, Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States of America.

Mr. President: The cession of Louisiana,[2] made by the French government to the United States of America, must be considered as a political purchase founded on the sanest and wisest reason. By that acquisition, the American government has given to all the governments of the world, especially to those of Europe, a lesson of the highest wisdom. It has shown them that sales and purchases are of much greater value than battles and victories, however legitimate the latter may be. May honor and thanks be given to the chief of this good government, who has known how, during his administration, to preserve the lives of those whom he governs, by avoiding the shedding of their so precious blood. Happy, a thousand times happy, the people who inhabit such an empire, and who are so wisely governed!

Had we always dwelt in this country, my family and I, we would have been safe from the fiercest persecution that mortals can experience on the earth. [That was] at New Orleans, where I was exercising with distinction my profession as physician. On this day, on which we have set foot on this free soil, where all men, of whatever opinions or religion they be, are equally protected by a justifiable and legitimate consideration, I have the honor to address and to dedicate to your Excellency my *Reflections on Louisiana*, which I wrote out in the dungeons of New Orleans.

If one were to judge the goodness or the poverty of this vast land by its population, he would fall into a gross error. For as one travels throughout the Spanish possessions in America, which are the most extensive and the richest in the whole world, he sees that men are

hommes y sont extremement rares et aussi rares qu'a la Louysiane qui ne possede qu'une population de quatre vingt mille ames repandues sur six cents lieues de pays.

Si les agens supremes qui les gouvernent, les protegeaient, et les encourageaient, la population et la fortune augmenteraient. mais ils les tiennent continuelement dans un etat allarmant, la population diminue, et l'oisiveté tient sous l'oppression la fortune.

Pars les plus petits details dans lesquels je suis entré, vous connaitrez tous les moyens, toutes les resources et toutes les productions de cet empire a present qu'il est sous la puissance des etats unis de l'amerique, et sous votre direction, l'on n'y voiera plus dorenavant de ces injustices atroces dictées par l'ambition et la corruption. l'on n'y voiera plus de ces emprisonnemens, et de ces deportations arbitraires qui plongeaient dans la plus grande misere des hommes de bien dont les talens en etaient la seule cause. les assasins ny seront plus protegés; et leur or ne faira plus taire la loi. enfin cette vaste terre moribonde va recevoir ce baume salutaire qui guerira entierement la lepre qui la ronge depuis si long tems.

L'agent qui gouvernera la louysiane, embrassera jusques a ses moindres parties. il jettera un coup d'oeuil juste sur sa capitale, qui, quoique mal placée, merite beaucoup, tant par rapport a son entrepot general, qu'a sa foible population, et a son commerce. quel sacrifice ne doit pas faire le gouvernement pour rendre celebre cet nouvel orleans.

Est il possible de croire que dans un pays ou l'on recolte du sucre et de l'indigo du coton et d'autres denrées si precieuses, et ou la terre y est si productive, l'on y voit beaucoup de pauvres, et trés peu de riches. tout con-

very rare therein, as rare, indeed, as in Louisiana, which possesses a population of only eighty thousand souls scattered through a country of six hundred leagues in extent.[3]

If the supreme agents, who govern them, protected and encouraged them, population and fortune would increase. But those agents continually keep them in an alarming condition, [and consequently] the population is decreasing, and idleness holds fortune under its oppression.

By the very small details into which I have entered, you will perceive all the means, all the resources, and all the products of that empire. Now that it is under the control of the United States of America, and under your direction, henceforth one will not see there any of those atrocious acts of injustice that are dictated by ambition and corruption. No longer shall be seen those arbitrary imprisonments and deportations which plunged good men whose talents were the only cause therefor into the deepest misery. Assassins will no longer be protected there, and their gold will no longer silence the law. In fine, that vast dying land is about to receive that health-giving balm which will entirely heal the leprosy which has been gnawing it for so long a time.

The agent who is to govern Louisiana will comprehend it to even its least parts. He will cast a just glance over its capital, which though badly located, merits much both in respect to its general trade depot and its feeble population[4] and its commerce. What sacrifice should not the government make in order to render this New Orleans renowned!

Is it possible to be believed that in a country where sugar, indigo, cotton, and other very valuable commodities are raised, and where the earth is so productive, one

sideré, l'homme pensant ne peut attribuer ce grand vice qu'au gouvernement.

je dis que sous le vôtre, dans quelques années la nouvel orleans sera meconnoissable; la bonne police que vous y etablirez, fera disparoitre de ces rues ces immondices pouries qui engendrent la peste. les maladies epidemiques que des chirurgiens ignorans ne peuvent arreter, disparoitrent, et dans quelques années la population de la nouvel orleans sera augmentée de moitié.

Si ce petit ouvrage peut avoir votre assentiment, je serai une fois heureux dans ma vie. en l'ecrivant, j'ai voulu prouver mon zele et mon attachement au gouvernement sous lequel nous avons juré ma femme, mes enfans et moi d'y mourir. je Suis de Son excellence, Monsieur le president, le plus humble et le plus soumis paul alliot medicin deporté de la Louysiane avec sa femme et Ses enfans le dixhuit mars dix huit cent trois dans les prisons de L'orient ce 1er juillet 1803.

sees very many poor and very few rich? Everything considered, the man who thinks can attribute that great fault only to the government.

I assert that, under your government, within a few years New Orleans will be unrecognizable. The efficient police regulation, that you will establish there, will cause the removal from its streets of the rotting dirt that engenders disease.[5] Epidemic maladies which ignorant surgeons[6] can not arrest will disappear, and within a few years the population of New Orleans will be increased by half.

Should this little work merit your approval, I shall be happy for once in my life. In the writing of it, I have desired to show my zeal and my attachment to the government under which my wife and I, and our children, have sworn to die.

I am, Mr. President, your Excellency's most humble and most dutiful [servant], Paul Alliot, Physician, deported from Louisiana with my wife and children, March eighteenth, one thousand eight hundred and three.

In the prison of Lorient,[7] July 1, 1803.

Avant propos

Les moyens a emploier pour rendre salubre la nouvel orleans, sout 1° d'exhausser ses rues, et de donner une pente suffisante pour l'ecoulement de ses eaux. 2° de mettre a sec jusques a une lieue de la ville les ciprieres, en y creusant de larges fossés, en les labourant, et en les ensemençant non point avec du ri, parceque sa fleur corrompt l'air, mais bien avec de la semence de chanvre et de lin, ou bien d'y former de bonnes prairies.

L'on pretend qu'il est impossible de rendre solide ces rues, parce que l'on n'y trouve point de pierre. mais je soutiens qu'on peut les accommoder d'une autre maniere, et avec autant de solidité.

L'on trouve sur les bords du lac qui n'est eloigné de cette ville que de quelques lieues des millions de voitures de coquilles, et des millions de voitures de Sable. ces deux objets conduits par le canal prés la ville, et mis dans ces rues d'un pied de paisseur, formeraient un mastic qui les rendrait toujours seches, toutefois en y placant une piece de bois d'un pied de paisseur de douze pieds en douze pieds qui les contiendrait, comme aussi en y placant de chaque côté de la rue une autre piece de bois qui les retiendrait. le conduit et l'egout des eaux ne seraient jamais encombré, et les voies des rues seraient trés solides tres nettes et tres saines, ce qui ferait disparoitre cette puanteur qui infeste l'habitant a la suite des pluies.

Le gouvernement qui doit embrasser tout ce qui tend

Preface

The means to be employed in rendering New Orleans healthful, are: 1st, to raise its streets, and to give them a sufficient incline for the drainage of the water on them; 2d, to drain the cypress swamps to a distance of one league from the city, by digging wide ditches, by cultivating them, and by planting therein, not rice, as its stalk corrupts the air, but rather the seed of hemp and flax or indeed by making good meadows in them.

Some claim that it is impossible to make those streets solid, because no rock is to be found there; but I maintain that they can be fixed properly in another way and with as great solidity.

On the shores of the lake,[8] located only a few leagues from that city, are found millions of loads of shells, and millions of loads of sand. These two materials, if brought by the canal[9] near the city and placed on the streets a foot thick, would form a cement which would always keep the streets dry. Moreover by setting in every twelve feet a piece of wood a foot thick which would hold them [i.e., the shells and sand] in place, as well as by placing on each side of the street another piece of wood which would hem them in, the drainage and flow of the waters, would never be obstructed, and the highways of the streets would be very solid, very clean, and very healthful. This would cause the disappearance of that stench which annoys the inhabitants after the rains.[10]

The government, which ought to undertake every-

au bien general, prendra en consideration le chemin qui conduit au grand baioux qui n'est que de deux mille cinq cent [pieds] ou trois quarts de lieue, a faire. il pourait etre accommodé de la même maniere que les rues; toutefois en y creusant de chaque côté un fossé qui recevrait l'ecoulement des eaux. toutes ces reparations si Urgentes et si necessaires ne couleraient pas beaucoup, parceque les materiaux ne sont point eloignés. dailleurs dans tous les gouvernemens et chez tous les peuples policés les habitans des villes sont obligés a paver les rues et a les entretenir en bon etat. les proprietaires riverains du grand chemin qui conduit au baioux se feraient un plaisir et meme un devoir d'aides le gouvernement. ces impenses ne seraient point vexatoires, mais bien legitimes.

il faudrait aussi que le gouvernement obligeast tous les riverains du fleuve a abatre et a baliser tous les arbres et mêmes les Souches qui sont sur les bords parce qu'au moyen de ses reparations, il serait trés facile de remonter a bras ou avec des chevaux les batimens qui, pour se rendre a la nouvel orleans, restent quelquefois des mois entiers dans le fleuve.

je ne parle point de la bonne police a exercer tant dans sa capitale que dans les autres villes ou bourgs, même dans les prisons ou le geolier traite avec tant de cruaute les malheureux detenus, parceque le chef du gouvernement americain l'exerce avec tant de sagesse et avec tant de paternité qu'il y emploiera les memes moyens.

il serait trés bien pour embelir cette ville que les mauvais forts et les palissades pouries qui ne servent a rien aujourd'huy, furent mis a bas et qu'il y fut etabli en son lieu et place de superbes promenades, en y faisant planter des arbres qui par le suite orneraient et de'coreraient cette capitale.

thing which conduces to the general welfare, will take in consideration the road which leads to the Grand Bayou. That is a road of only two miles, five hundred [feet] or three-fourths of a league to make. It could be fixed up in the same manner as the streets, and, by digging a ditch on each side of it, to receive the drainage of the waters. All those improvements so urgent and so necessary, would not be very costly, as the materials are not at a great distance. Besides in all governments and among all civilized peoples, the inhabitants of the cities are obliged to pave the streets and to keep them in good condition. The proprietors of lands along the river by the highway leading to the bayou, would be doing themselves a pleasure and even a duty in aiding the government. Those expenses for repairs would by no means be a burden, and would be very legitimate.

It would also be necessary for the government to oblige all those living along the river to fell and mark with buoys all the trees and even the stumps at the edges of the river, because by means of those repairs it would be very easy to pull the boats upstream by hand or by means of horses. Sometimes those boats remain for whole months in the river before reaching New Orleans.

I say nothing of the efficient oversight which must be exercised in the capital and in the other cities and towns, and even in the prisons where the jailer treats the unfortunate prisoners so cruelly; for the leader of the American government exercises it so wisely and so paternally that he will employ there the same methods.

It would be very well for the beautifying of that city to demolish the poor forts and the decaying palisades which are of no use now, and to lay out beautiful promenades in their place by having trees planted there which would later ornament and adorn that capital.

il est encore un grand terrein vaquant qui n'est point eloigné du bureau des douanes et qui est attenant aux remparts de la ville qui pourait servir a faire un garden des plantes, ce qui serait dautant plus facile, C'est qu'a quelques lieues de la ville, elle y sont trés abondantes. Au Cap de bonne esperance les hollandais en out etabli un, qui, aprés celui de paris est sans contredit le plus beau de L'univers. dailleurs il est prouvé que les plantes sont les antidotes de la peste, et que dans un poijs comme celui de la nouvel Orleans un pareil jardin serait d'une grande utilité et d'un grand Secours.

C'est en embelissant les villes, en les rendant Saines, en tenant les routes dans un bon etat et en expulsant l'intolerance que le voyageur, le persecuté et le philosophe s'y fixent, et que la population source feconde des empires s'accroit.

En considerant les grandes ressources qu'offrent l'empire de la Louysiane, les etats unis de l'amerique possedent par cette acquisition de grandes richesses le gouvernement peut les faire valoir avec avantage. par cette acquisition il a augmenté le produit de son territoire par les riches recoltes du Sucre de l'indigo du coton et du fameux et bon tabac de la province de Naguitoche.

il y est encore deux autres cultures a y etablir qui ne sont point mises en activité et que vous prendrez en grande consideration parcequelles sont aussi interessantes et lucratives que les autres productions. je veux parler des huiles d'olive et de la Soierie. effectivement l'on trouve dans les forets de la Louysiane beaucoup d'oliviers sauvages et de muriers propres a la nouriture des vers a soie. les arbustes placés par la nature dans les forets de cet empire a donné l'idee a L'homme de les cultiver et d'en recolter les fruits. l'on poura m'ob-

There is still a vast amount of vacant land not far distant from the customs office and near the ramparts of the city which could be used for a botanical garden – a matter that would be all the easier, because some leagues from the city plants are very abundant. At the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch have established a botanical garden, which, with the exception of that of Paris, is beyond contradiction the most beautiful in the universe. Besides, it has been proved that plants are antidotes for the pest, and that in a country like that of New Orleans such a garden would be of great use and great service.

By beautifying cities, by rendering them healthful, by keeping their routes in good condition, and by expelling intolerance, travelers, those persecuted, and philosophers settle there, and the population, the fecund source of empires, increases.

In considering the great resources offered by the empire of Louisiana, the United States of America possesses great riches by that acquisition. The government may avail itself of them to advantage. By that acquisition, it has augmented the product of its territory by rich crops of sugar,[11] indigo,[12] cotton,[13] and the famous and excellent tobacco[14] of the province of Natchitoches.

There are also two other kinds of cultivation to be established there, not yet entered into actively, and which you should consider earnestly, because they are as advantageous and lucrative as the other products – I mean the production of olive oil[15] and silk.[16] As a matter of fact in the forests of Louisiana are found many wild olive trees, and mulberries suitable for the rearing of silk worms. The shrubs placed by nature in the forests of that empire have given man the idea of cultivating them and of gathering the fruits therefrom. Objection may be made to me [by saying] that it would

jecter qu'aux etats unis, il serait impossible de trouver des ouvriers en etat de Soigner et d'elever les vers a soie de la fabriquer ainsi que les huiles d'olive. Mais je leur repondrai que le gouvernement peut s'en procurer en france. dailleurs il existe parmi cette classe d'homme si precieux un mecontentement general. ils sont aujourdhuy reduits a la pauvreté, a la misere, et au desespoir.

que le gouvernement americain fasse quelque sacrifice, il s'en procurera tant qu'il voudra; et dans quelques années les habitants de l'amerique recolteraient avec abondance ces deux riches productions dont l'une est de premiere necessité. les marchands n'iraient pas a douze cents lieues porter leur argent pour s'en procurer, ce qui diminue le numeraire d'un grand etat naissant. quand une grande nation prend chez elle l'util et l'agreable, elle est sans contredit la plus heureuse sur la terre, parcequ'elle se trouve sans besoin. elle ne craint point de manquer même en tems de guerre avec les puissances etrangeres.

quoique le ministre de l'interieur de France, *Chaptal* homme savant et estimable pretende dans son traité sur la vigne que l'on ne poura jamais recolter du vin en amerique; il s'est grandement trompé. je Soutiens que dans les pentes douce de Natchée, si l'on y cultivait la vigne l'on y recolterait d'excellent vin, et qu'aux illinois la vigne y etant naturel. il est des habitans de cet endroit qui en ont faits de trés bon.

ou est encore le pays en europe ou l'on trouve dans les forets et meme dans tout autre endroit des arbustes qui produisent de la cire propre a faire de la chandelle. ah! quelle Source et abondance de richesse! que de Sortes de cultures, que de sortes de manufactures a y etabler. qu'en fin le chef du gouvernement dont le

be impossible to find workmen in the United States capable of caring for and raising silk-worms and manufacturing the silk, as well as olive oil. But I will answer such objection [by saying] that the government may procure workmen in France. Besides a general discontent exists among that exceedingly valuable class. They are today reduced to poverty, to misery, and to despair.

Let the American government make some sacrifice, and it will procure as much as it wants. Within a few years, the inhabitants of America would reap abundantly those two rich products, one of which is of prime necessity. Merchants would not go twelve hundred leagues with their money in order to obtain it – a procedure that diminishes the hard cash of a great nascent state. When a great nation is the home of the useful and the agreeable, it is beyond contradiction the happiest in the world, because it is without need. It fears no lack even in time of war with foreign powers.

Although the minister of the interior, in France, Chaptal,[17] a wise and estimable man, claims in his treatise on the vine, that wine can never be made in America, he has greatly deceived himself. I maintain that if the vine be cultivated along the gentle slopes of Natchez, excellent wine could be obtained; and that since the vine is native to the Illinois country, there are inhabitants of that district who have made very excellent wine.

Where remains there a country in Europe where shrubs that produce wax suitable for making candles are still found in the forests and even in all other places?[18] Ah! what an abundant source of wealth! How many kinds of cultivation, and how many kinds of manufacture can be established there! How well, in fine, the leader of the government, whose patriotism,

patriotisme, les vertus, et la probité sont connus en europe, qui par une sage combinaison et une politique sincere a scu aggrander le territoire et la population, le commerce de ses concitoyens et administrés accorde sa protection a ceux qui sont obligés d'abandonner leur patrie par rapport a la tirannie et a la persecution; Lors qu'il aura fait tout cela, il poura etre sur qu'aprés sa mort la posterité en parlant de lui, ne prononcera son nom qu'avec enthousiasme et respect. ah qu'il est beau, ah qu'il est glorieux de mourir ainsi.

PAUL ALLIOT medicin.
(with rubric).

virtues, and probity are known in Europe, who has been able by a wise management and a sincere policy, to increase its territory and population, and the trade of its citizens and subjects, accords his protection to those who are forced to abandon their country because of tyranny and persecution! When he shall have done all that, he may be sure that after his death, posterity in speaking of him, will utter his name only with enthusiasm and respect. Ah! how good it is, how glorious, to die so!

PAUL ALLIOT, Physician
(with rubric).

Reflexions historiques et politiques sur la Louysiane

1ere partie

en partant de philadelphie pour se rendre par mer a L'embouchure du fleuve missisipi, le voyageur qui veut connaitre l'empire de la Louysiane, aprés avoir navigué huit cents lieues, arrive a un endroit appellé la balise. a peine la decouvre il d'une lieue, parceque les terres y sont extremement basses, noyées, et remplies de jones. C'est la ou s'arretent tous les vaisseaux qui veulent remonter ce grand fleuve dont les eaux bourbeuses se dechargent dans le vaste ocean avec une lenteur et une majesté surprenantes, pour se rendre a la nouvel orleans la capitale de la Louysiane.

il serait impossible a tous les navigateurs d'y entrer d'eux mêmes leurs vaisseaux, a cause des roches qui s'y trouvent, et des amas de bois que le fleuve charie dans le debordement de ses eaux ; si un des pilotes qui demeure a une demie lieue plus loin ne se rendait avec sa barque abord du vaisseau que le capitaine et les equipages attendent avec impatience, relativement aux coups de vent assez frequens qui se font sentir dans cet endroit qui causent souvent des avaries tant aux batimens qu'aux march andises.

Le pilote qui entre le vaisseau dans le fleuve, le conduit jusques vis a vis d'une petite riviere appellée la

Historical and political reflections on Louisiana

First Part

On leaving Philadelphia in order to travel by sea to the mouth of the Mississippi River, the traveler who has a desire to become acquainted with the empire of Louisiana, after having sailed about eight hundred leagues, reaches a place called Balize.[19] Scarce can it be discerned a league away, as the lands there are extremely low, submerged, and covered with reeds. At that place all the vessels anchor that are about to ascend that great river (whose muddy waters are discharged into the vast ocean with a surprising gentleness and majesty), in order to reach New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana.

It would be impossible for all navigators to take their vessels into that place themselves, because of the rocks that are found there, and the heaps of wood which the river carries down during the overflowing of its waters, unless one of the pilots, who lives a half league farther on, came aboard the vessel in his skiff. The captain and the crew await him with impatience, because of the very frequent squalls which are experienced in that place, which often cause damage to the ships as well as to the merchandise.

The pilot who enters the ship in the river, conducts it as far as and opposite to a small river called La

fourche qui a son tour decharge ses eaux dans le fleuve. C'est sur cette petite riviere que sont construites les cinq cases dans les quelles les pilotes et leurs chefs logent; une tour aussi construite en bois de la quelle ils decouvrent au loin en mer tous les vaisseaux qui prennent le chemin de la balise. C'est en cet endroit que le capitaine du navire L'econduit en le payant. cette place rapporte par chaque année au chef des pilotes vingt mille francs.

depuis la balise jusques au fort plaquemine qui est le premier fort que l'on rencoutre sur le fleuve, l'on compte dix lieues. les terres que l'on trouve a droite et a gauche sont trés basses, c'est pourquoi l'on n'y voit aucune habitation. les canards, les poules d'eau, les oies sauvages et tous les autres animaux qui vivent dans les marais sont les seuls habitans que le chasseur y trouve, et dont il fait bonne provision.

Comme les vents sont toujours assez favorables, pour remonter les vaisseaux jusques au fort plaquemine, et que le fleuve est assez profond pour recevoir des batimens de trois a quatre cent tonneaux; c'est pourquoi les capitaines le remonte sans pilote, quoiqu'ils n'aient jamais naviqué dedans. sa largeur peut etre partout d'un quart de lieue. Ses eaux ne sont jamais claires, et Ses bords sont remplis de cayemans.

une fois que les vaisseaux sont arrivés devant le fort plaquemine qui est assez bien construit, assez bien fortifié, et gardé par un commandant et soixante soldats; les capitaines sont obligés d'arreter leurs vaisseaux, de s'y transporter, et d'y faire la declaration de leur cargaison. de son côté [compté: crossed out] le commandant du fort est obligé d'en instruire de suite le gouverneur general a la nouvel orleans, qui connait longtems avant leurs arrivées l'espece et la quantité des marchandises

Fourche [i.e., the Fork],[20] which in its turn discharges its waters into the [Mississippi] river. It is on that small river that the five huts are built in which the pilots and their chiefs live. There is also a wooden tower, from which all the vessels that are making toward Balize, are sighted while far out at sea. At that place the captain of the ship discharges the pilot and pays him off. That place brings in twenty thousand francs annually to the chief of the pilots.

From Balize to Fort Plaquemine[21]—the first fort met on the river—is reckoned ten leagues. The lands lying on the right and left are very low, that being the reason why no habitations are seen. Ducks, water fowl, wild geese, and all other animals that inhabit the swamps, are the sole living things that the hunter finds there, and he makes good provision of them.

Since the winds are always sufficiently favoring so that ships can ascend as far as Fort Plaquemine, and since the river is deep enough for vessels of three or four hundred tons, for that reason the captains ascend without a pilot, even though they have never navigated the river. The width of the river is perhaps a quarter league in all parts. Its waters are never clear and its banks abound in alligators.

The vessels once arrived at Fort Plaquemine, which is very well constructed, very strongly fortified, and guarded by a commandant and sixty soldiers, the captains are obliged to anchor their vessels, to betake themselves to the fort, and to declare there their cargo. On his side [account: *crossed out*] the commandant of the fort is obliged immediately to instruct the governor general at New Orleans of it. The latter learns long before their arrival the kinds and quantity of merchandise

qui y sont chargés. car quoiqu'il ny ait que vingt deux lieues de riviere a remonter, il faut quelque fois des mois entiers et plus, pour y arriver.

l'intemperie des saisons, les calmes et les vents debout, par rapport aux sinuosités et aux contours du fleuve contribuent beaucoup au retard de l'arrivée de ces batimens a la nouvel orleans; ce qui occasionne aux armateurs une depense enorme, et quelquefois une disette que les habitans eprouvent. cependant il serait bien facile au gouvernement de remedier a un aussi grand inconvenient, parcequ'ayant en main toutes les forces et tous les moyens, il ne tient qu'a Lui de les executer. par exemple, je crois que s'il faisait abattre tous les bois qui se trouvent sur les bords du fleuve et qu'il y fit faire une levée de chaque côté, il serait trés possible, soit avec des chevaux, ou a bras, de remonter en trés peu de jours les batimens a la nouvel orleans. de la il s'etablierait sur ses bords des habitans qui en feraient l'entreprise, et chez qui on trouverait des vivres fraiches.

il faut observer que dans beaucoups d'endroits, il ne faudrait point y faire de levée, mais seulement abattre les bois qui s'y trouvent le long, et couper ceux que le fleuve charie, et qui s'arretent sur ses bords, ce qui incommode la navigation, et ce qui occasionne souvent la perte des batimens, surtout lors que le fleuve est haut.

les capitaines des navires que les americains envoyent au natchée, province du continent de l'amerique a cent lieues plus loin que là nouvelle orleans, en remontant le fleuve, sont egalement obligé d'arreter devant le fort plaquemine, et d'observer les mêmes formalités que les capitaines des autres nations. un ordre du gouverneur general les empeche d'encrer leurs batimens devant la ville. cette conduite affreuse et vexatoire a tellement

which are in the ships; for although there are but twenty-two leagues to ascend by the river, a whole month or more is at times necessary to reach that city.

The intemperance of the seasons, the calms, and the head winds, because of the windings and twistings of the river contribute greatly to the delay in the arrival of these vessels at New Orleans. That occasions an enormous expense to the vessel outfitters and at times a scarcity which is experienced by the inhabitants. However, it would be very easy for the government to remedy so great an inconvenience; for, having in hand all the forces and all the means, it only remains for it to execute them. For example, I believe that if all the trees which are found along the banks of the river were felled, and if a levee[22] were constructed along each side, it would be possible, either by means of horses or by pulling the vessels up by hand to accomplish the ascent to New Orleans within a very few days. That would cause the settlement, along its banks, of inhabitants who would engage in enterprises and among whom fresh provisions could be found.

It must be observed that in many places it would be unnecessary to construct a levee, but only to fell the trees found along the river and to cut away those which the river carries down and which stop along its banks. Those trees obstruct navigation and are often the cause of the loss of vessels, especially when the river is high.

The captains of the ships which the Americans despatch to Natchez,[23] a province of the continent of America, one hundred leagues beyond New Orleans, are equally obliged to stop before Fort Plaquemine when they ascend the river, and to observe the same formalities as the captains of other nations. An order of the governor general prevents them from anchoring their ships before the city. Such shocking and vexatious

indisposée le gouvernement americain, que, si la Louysiane etait restée aux espagnols, la guerre etait decidée entre les deux nations. il y a toute apparence que les americains, peuple deja trés nombreux, et voisins de cet empire auraient vaincu les soldats du roi d'espagne, parceque dans ce tems ils ne consistaient que dans un millier d'hommes effeminés.

il ne faut pas se dissimuler qu'une grande partie de ses habitans, las du joug espagnol, desirait depuis long tems de changer de gouvernement. il est bien vrai que presque tous ne voyaient pas de bon oeuil arriver les français chez eux, et les regardant d'aprés leur conduite a St domingue comme la ruin de leur paijs, ils auraient plutôt desiré etre gouverné par les americains. il ne faut cependant pas se dissimuler que le parti des royalistes de la nouvelle orleans auraient bien desiré rester dans leur place, et continuer a tenir sous l'oppression la plus dure les administrés.

en face du fort plaquemine sont etablies cinq a six petites habitations dont les terres sont trés mal cultivées, quoiqu'elles soient excellentes et propres non seulement a la culture des cannes a sucre, mais même a toutes sortes d'autres.

les proprietaires se contentent de planter du ri, du mahi, des aricots, pour vivre; et elever quelques cochons et des volailles qu'ils vendent aux navigateurs. leurs principales occupations sont la chasse et la peche.

Les terres qui sont sur la rive gauche du fleuve, en le romontant, etant un peu plus elevée que celle de la droite, sont bien meilleures. elle pouraient etre cultivée avec avantage, si un de ces evenemens qu'il n'est pas possible de prevoir n'etait arrivé dans ces parages.

conduct has so greatly annoyed the American government, that had Louisiana been retained by the Spaniards, war had already been decided upon between the two nations.[24] In all likelihood, the Americans, a people already very numerous and neighboring to that empire, would have conquered the soldiers of the king of Spain, because at that time, the latter consisted only of a thousand effeminate men.

It is not necessary to conceal the fact that a great many of its inhabitants, tired of the Spanish yoke, had been desirous for a long time of a change of government. It is quite true that not nearly all the people beheld the arrival of the French among them with equanimity: and regarding them on account of their conduct in San Domingo [25] as the ruin of their country, would have preferred to be governed by the Americans. It is, nevertheless, unnecessary to conceal the fact that the royalist party of New Orleans would have preferred to have remained as they were, and to have continued to keep the governed under the most severe oppression.

Opposite Fort Plaquemine are established five or six small plantations, the lands of which are very poorly cultivated, although they are excellent and suitable, not only for the cultivation of sugarcane but also for all sorts of other products.

The proprietors content themselves with planting rice, maize, and kidney beans for their sustenance; and with raising a few hogs and fowls which they sell to navigators. Their chief occupations are hunting and fishing.

Since the lands lying along the left bank of the river, as one ascends, are slightly higher than those on the right, they are much better. They might have been cultivated with advantage, had not one of those incidents, impossible to foresee, occurred in those districts.

il y a environ cinq ans que les proprietaires d'une douzaine d'habitations et leurs bestiaux furent ensevelis dans les eaux que les vents du nord soufflerait avec force de la mer qui n'est eloignée de ces endroits, que d'environ une lieue. enfin tout fut detruit dans cette partie.

aussi ne trouve on veritablement d'habitations qu'a douze lieues de la nouvel orleans. quoique ces habitans travaillent avec nonchalence leur terre; cependant, vu leur gran de fertilité, ils recoltent en assez grande quantité des cotons, du mahi, du ri, des aricots, des feves, de trés bonnes oranges, et des grenades. quelques uns s'occupent encore a planter des cannes a sucre, dont ils retirent le jus, pour en faire du tafia. leurs bois sont remplis de ceps de vigne, de ciriers, dont ils tirent du fruit une cire verte qui leur sert a faire de trés bonne chandelle; des oliviers sauvages, des muriers dont les feuilles sont propres a la nouriture des vers a soie, des chevreuils, des lapins, et du gibier de toute espece. quelques personnes pretendent y avoir vu des tigres, mais ils assurent qu'ils ne sont point malfaisans.

La plupart des batimens qui partent de la nouvelle orleans, ou les capitaines n'ont pu faire leurs provisions, acheptent ce dont ils ont besoin pour faire leurs traversés chez ces habitans qui, sans etre riches, sont tous dans l'aisance.

Si ces proprietaires avaient plus d'intelligence, ils pouraient augmenter leur fortune et leur revenu. ils pouraient mettre dans les vastes et immenses prairies qui tiennent a leurs habitations des troupeaux de vaches et de jumens qui leur rapport eraient bien plus que les chevreuils et les lapins qu'ils y tuent.

il faut convenir que tous ces cultivateurs qui n'ont eûs d'autres instructions que celles de leurs péres, dont une trés grande partie ne connaissait point l'agriculture, lors

About five years ago the proprietors of a dozen plantations and their animals were engulfed in the waters which the north winds blew with force from the sea which is only about a league from those places. In short, everything in that region was destroyed.[26]

Also no real plantations are seen until one is a dozen leagues from New Orleans.[27] Although those inhabitants work their lands with indifference, yet because of the great fertility of them, they harvest very large quantities of cotton, maize, rice, kidney beans, and common beans, and excellent oranges and pomegranates. A few of them, moreover, are engaged in the cultivation of sugarcane, from which they express the juice in order to make taffia.[28] Their woods are filled with vine stocks; with waxplants, from the fruit of which they obtain a green wax, which they use in making excellent candles; with wild olive trees; with mulberries, the leaves of which are suitable for the nourishment of silkworms; and with deer, rabbits, and game of all kinds. Some people claim that they have seen tigers[29] there, but they assert that they are not injurious.

Most of the vessels which leave New Orleans, where the captains have been unable to lay in provisions, buy what they need for their voyage from those inhabitants, who, although not rich, are all in easy circumstances.

If those proprietors had more intelligence, they could augment their fortune and their revenue. They could stock the vast and immense meadows of their plantations with herds of cows and mares which would yield much more than the deer and rabbits which they kill.

It must be acknowledged that all those planters, who have had no other instruction than that given them by their fathers – a great proportion of whom had not the slightest understanding of agriculture when they set-

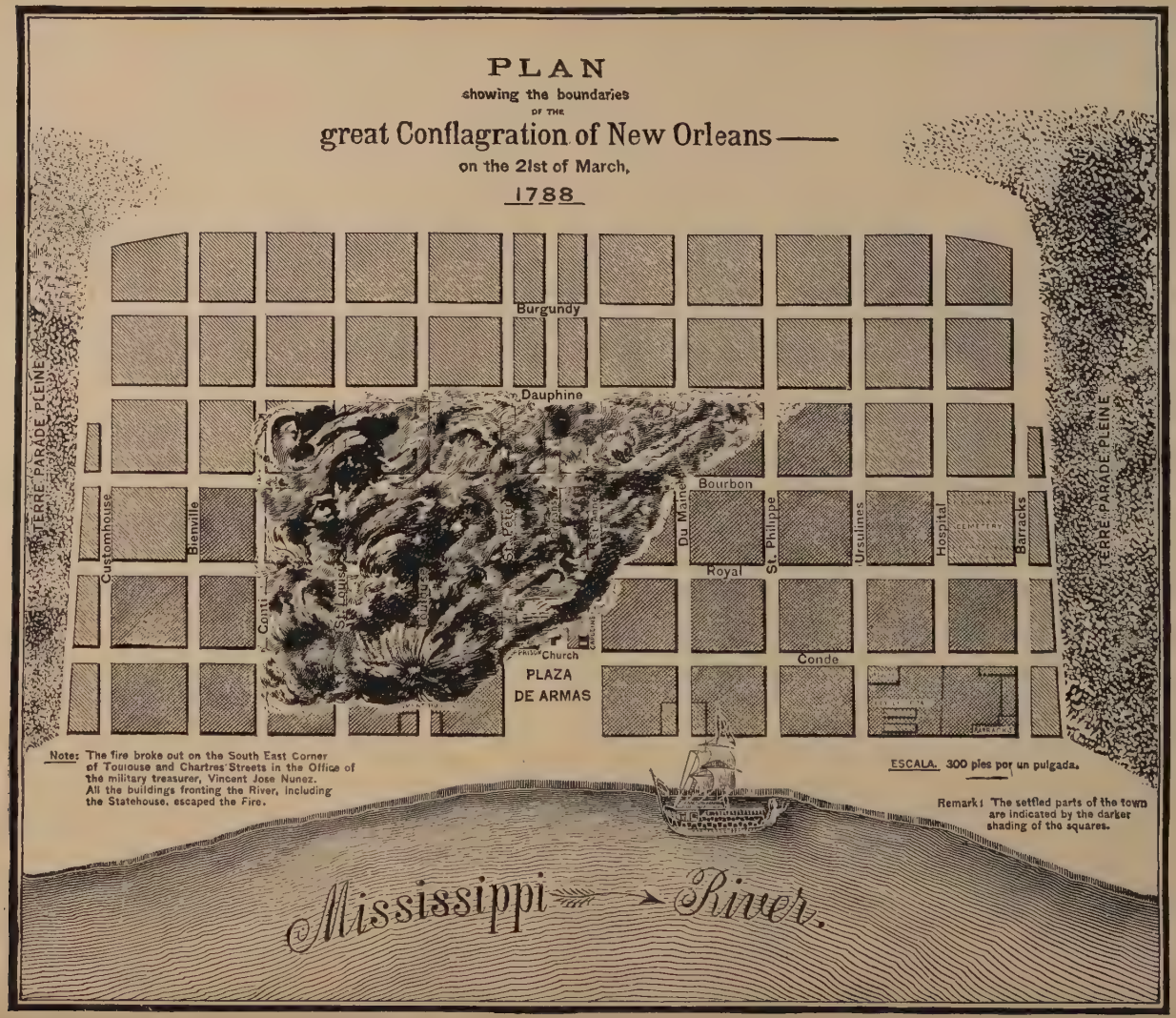
qu'ils se sont etablis sur les bords du Missisipi, n'ayant point voyagé chez des peuples agricoles, ne peuvent connaitre a fond l'industrie rurale.

Cependant il y a lieu de croire que sous votre bon gouvernement, il s'y etablira des hommes versés dans cet art qui instruiront ces cultivateurs, et qu'ils travailleront par la suite avec plus de succés leur terre.

L'on rencontre encore sur le fleuve quelques moulins a planche que le proprietaire ne peut faire aller que lors qu'il est baut.

a fur et mesure que l'on approche de la nouvel orleans, les habitations y sont plus multipliées et mieux travaillées. dans les saisons mortes pour l'agriculture ces habitans occupent leurs esclaves a abattre du bois qu'ils mettent en corde, qu'ils transportent dans des bateaux a la ville au moyen du fleuve, et qu'ils vendent trés bien. les uns font du sucre et les autres recoltent du coton. jusques a present ceux qui ont embarqués de ces sucres, ont eprouvés de grandes pertes, parce qu'ils se sont decomposé en mer. celui qui n'a pas été a la nouvel orleans, et qui sçait qu'il y gele pendant trois mois, ne peut concevoir, comment on peut y faire du sucre brut, et meme du Sucre blanc qui, a l'exception des cristaux qu'il n'a pas, approche en blancheur de celui de St domingue. malgré les gelées, la neige et les pluies froides qui arretent entierement la vegetation de toutes les plantes, malgré ces contretems, les pieds de la canne n'eprouvent aucun prejudice, et les orangers qui sont en pleine terre ne sont presque point depouillés de leur feuilles. il est vrai que le bananier et le citronier n'y produisent aucuns fruits.

Lors que le printems commence, la vegetation est bien plus rapide, et bien plus grande que dans tous les pays du monde les chaleurs que l'on y eprouve dans l'été et


PLAN
showing the boundaries
OF THE
great Conflagration of New Orleans
on the 21st of March,
1788
Burgundy
Dauphine
Bourbon
Customhouse
Bienville
Conti
St. Louis
Toulouse
St. Peter
St. Ann
Du Maine
St. Philippe
Ursulines
Hospital
Barracks
Royal
Church
Conde
PLAZA
DE ARMAS
TERRE PARADE PLEINE
TERRE PARADE PLEINE
Note: The fire broke out on the South East Corner of Toulouse and Chartres Streets in the Office of the military treasurer, Vincent Jose Nunez. All the buildings fronting the River, including the Statehouse, escaped the Fire.
ESCALA. 300 pies por un pulgada.
Remark: The settled parts of the town are indicated by the darker shading of the squares.
Mississippi River.

tled on the shores of the Mississippi, since they had never traveled among agricultural people—can not have a thorough understanding of farming.

Nevertheless, there is reason for believing that under your good government, men versed in that art will settle there, who will instruct those planters; and that the latter will afterward work their lands with more success.

There are still to be met on the river some saw mills which the owners are unable to run except when the water is high.[30]

In proportion as one approaches New Orleans, the plantations increase in number and are better worked. In the seasons unfit for agriculture, those inhabitants occupy their slaves in felling wood which they pile in cords and transport by batteau along the river to the city, and which they sell at a good price. Some make sugar and others harvest cotton. Up to the present those who have engaged in the production of sugar have experienced great losses, as the sugar has become bad at sea. He who has not been at New Orleans and knows that it freezes there for three months, can not conceive how raw sugar can be made there, and even white sugar—which, except for crystals which it does not possess, approaches in whiteness that of San Domingo—in spite of the frosts, snow, and cold rains, which arrest entirely the growth of all plants. In spite of those obstacles, the stalks of the cane experience no harm, and the orange trees which are well rooted [*en pleine terre*] scarcely lose their leaves at all. It is true that the banana and lemon trees produce no fruit there.[31]

At the beginning of spring, growth is much more rapid and to a greater size than in any other country in the world. The heat which is experienced there in

dans une grande partie de l'automne, sont bien moins supportables qu'o St domingue; parcequ'il ny a point de brise fixée. l'on ne peut conçevoir comment les cannes a sucre dont la vegetation ne dure par chaque année que six mois peuvent au bout de ce tems être coupée, et comment on ne peut faire du sucre; pendant que dans toutes les colonies, telles que la havane, et St domingue ou l'on travaille avec avantage cette denrée, il est impossible dans les quartiers les plus riches en production de les couper avant quatorze a quinze mois, et avant dix huit dans les quartiers moins rendans.

Lors que les gelées commencent a se faire sentir, les proprietaires en sucreries qui ont encore sur pied plusieurs arpens de cannes, occupent leurs esclaves a les couper, et a les transporter de suite dans un batiment, ou elle restent quelquefois des mois entiers sans en extraire la liqueur. si a St domingue l'on travaillaît ainsi, il serait impossible de faire du sucre, parceque les cannes suriraient. il est bien vrai que le climat de ces deux colonies ne se ressemble point cependant quoique le Sucre de la Louysiane se decompose en mer et qu'il n'est point aussi riche en cristaux, que dans l'amerique meridionale. heureux, mil fois heureux, les peuples qui possedent cette denrée si bonne et si bienfaisante. il est donc de l'interet du gouvernement americain d'encourager a la Louysiane cette culture, en y faisant passer des bras. je soutiens que si l'on y fabriquait cette denrée avec connaissance et avec toutes les precautions necessaires, l'on pourait arriver au but et approvisionner par la Suite les etats unis non seulement en sucre, mais même en cirop; en tafia; et en rum.

Les habitans qui avoisinent la nouvel orleans, et qui ne possedent que quelques esclaves, les occupant dans leurs jardins potagers et a differens autres travaux, re-

summer and throughout a great part of the autumn, is much less endurable than in San Domingo, since there is no steady breeze in the former place. One can not imagine how the sugarcane whose growth lasts yearly only six months can be cut at the end of that time, and how sugar can be made; while in all the colonies, such as Havana and San Domingo, where that product is worked to advantage, it is impossible to cut the cane before fourteen or fifteen months in the quarters richest in production and before eighteen in quarters less productive.

When the frosts begin to be felt, proprietors in the sugar plantations who have still uncut several arpents of cane, busy their slaves in cutting it, and in transporting it immediately by batteau, where they are kept sometimes for whole months without expressing the juice. If that course were pursued at San Domingo, it would be impossible to make sugar, as the cane would turn sour. It is quite true that those two colonies have not the slightest resemblance in climate. Nevertheless, although the sugar of Louisiana becomes bad at sea, and is not so rich in crystals as in South America, happy, a thousand times happy, the people who possess that very excellent and beneficial product![32] It is, therefore, to the interest of the American government to encourage that culture in Louisiana by causing laborers to go thither.[33] I maintain that if that product be worked there understandingly, and with all the necessary precautions, success could be obtained and the United States could in consequence be supplied, not only with sugar, but also with syrup, taffia, and rum.

The inhabitants in the neighborhood of New Orleans and who own only a few slaves, by occupying them in their kitchen gardens, and at various other tasks, derive

tirent de leurs journées un trés grand benefice. toutes leurs habitations par la bonté de leur decorations, et par la solidité de leur constructions, annoncent au voyageur la richesse de ses proprietaires, et lui font connaitre qu'en fin il arrive a la capitale de L'empire de la Louysiane si celebre dans L'histoire.

Description de cette ville

La nouvel orleans peut avoir une demie lieue de long sur un quart de large. elle est située dans une plaine sur les bords du missisipi, a droite en le remontant. une mauvaise levée construite le long de ce fleuve, retient ses eaux, et empeche l'innondation de la ville, parcequelle est plus basse que lui. il y a quelques années que dans la fonte des neiges, le fleuve montant plus baut que son ordinaire la levée ne pouvant resister au courant et a la force de l'eau, creva et innonda les rues et les maisons de quatre pieds de bauteur. la quantité de poisson que l'eau y avait entrainée, et qui, aprés son ecoulement, resta dans les rues, tourna en corruption, et dans l'année plus de trois mille habitans perdirent la vie.

en dixhuit cent deux la verete [sic] passa dans la ville, et elle emporta dans la tombe quinze cents enfans.

ainsi le defaut d'une police exacte chez le peuple espagnol est souvent la cause des maladies de corruption et de peste qui passe et arrive souvent a la nouvel orleans. ainsi l'ignorence des chirurgiens est encore la cause de la diminution de la population; les medecins instruits qui ont voyagé a la Louysiane, ont toujours consideré eux qui professent cet etat, comme des hommes qui n'ont aucune connaissance dans cet art si util pour la conservation du genre humain.

La Nouvel orleans est le siege d'un gouverneur gen-

an excellent profit from their labors. All their habitations, through the goodness of their decorations and the solidity of their construction bespeak to the traveler the wealth of their owners, and inform him that at last he is about to arrive at the capital of the empire of Louisiana so celebrated in history.

Description of that city[34]

New Orleans is about one half league in length by one quarter league in breadth. It is located on a plain on the banks of the Mississippi, on the right as one ascends. A poor levee[35] built along that river restrains its waters, and prevents the inundation of the city—for the city is lower than the river. Some years ago, when the snows melted, the river rose higher than usual, and the levee not being able to resist the current and the force of the water, burst and inundated the streets and houses to a depth of more than four feet. The quantity of fish brought there by the water and which were left in the streets when the water subsided, rotted and more than three thousand inhabitants perished during the year.

In eighteen hundred and two, smallpox appeared in the city, and carried to the tomb fifteen hundred children.

Thus the lack of a strict supervision [*police exacte*] among the Spanish people is often the cause of diseases, corruption, and pest, which often visit and come to New Orleans. Thus is the ignorance of surgeons still the cause of the decrease of the population. Skilled physicians who have traveled to Louisiana have always considered those who practice that profession [there] as men who have no understanding of that art so useful for the preservation of human life.[36]

New Orleans is the seat of a governor general,[37] of the

eral, de la force militaire et civile, d'un intendant, d'un éveque, et d'un chapitre compose d'un doyen, et de douze chanoines, de quelques maisons religeux et religeuses, des capucins dont les cures leur sont de droit devolues. les écoles primaires sont tenues par des moines. le palais de justice, le gouvernement, l'eglise cathedrale et le couvent des urselines sont trés bien construits. Ses religeuses ont un superbe et grand jardin entouré de planches; et l'on apperçoit quelquefois ces dammes dont la beauté et la belle couleur sont a l'abri des rayons brulans du soleil, se delasser de leurs travaux divins par des jeux innocens.

L'on y voit encore deux grands hopitaux, l'un pour les militaires, et l'autre pour les infortunés habitans, une caserne a contenir deux mille soldats, une grande et belle place d'armes, et un bagne pour contenir les forçats. les prisons, quoique peu aerées, sont construites avec beaucoup de solidité le bureau des douanes annonce par sa construction la pauvreté du commerce. cependant la place d'intendant, quoique modique en appointment, rapporte par chaque année au moins un million.

a l'exception de la levée que sert de promenade aux habitans de la ville, il n'y a aucune place publique. les arsenaux et la poudriere qui sont sous la garde d'un commandant et de soixante soldats sont sur lautre bord du fleuve en face du gouvernement.

Lorsque les voyageurs arrivent a la nouvel orleans, en contemplant les belles maisons qui donnent sur le missisipi, ils croiraient que les citadins jouissent d'une grande opulence, et que cette ville est belle par so construction. mais aprés y être entré, et avoir parcouru ses dix huit grandes rues, a l'exception de quelques maisons bâties avec solidité, et a la moderne, l'on y en

military and civil force, of an intendant, of a bishop, and of a chapter composed of a dean and a dozen canons, and of several houses for religious and nuns of the Capuchins, on whom the curacies have by right devolved. The primary schools are kept by the nuns. The palace of justice, the government, the cathedral, and the Ursuline convent are excellently built. Those nuns have a large excellent garden surrounded by a wooden fence, and sometimes one catches a glimpse of those women, whose beauty and good complexion are sheltered from the burning rays of the sun, relaxing from their divine labors by innocent games.

There are also two large hospitals to be seen there, one for the military and the other for the poor inhabitants, a barracks capable of accommodating two thousand soldiers, a fine large parade ground, and a prison galley for the retention of criminals. The prisons, although poorly ventilated are very solidly constructed. The customs office shows by its construction the poverty of commerce, and yet the place of intendant,[38] although moderate in appointment, is worth at least a million annually.

With the exception of the levee which is used by the inhabitants of the city as a promenade, there is no public place. The arsenal and powder factory which are under the guard of a commandant and sixty soldiers are located on the other side of the river opposite the government buildings.

When travelers arrive at New Orleans and see the beautiful houses which are on the Mississippi, they believe that the citizens enjoy great wealth, and that that city is beautiful because of their construction. But after having entered the city and having walked about its eighteen large streets, with the exception of a few solidly built modern houses, one sees there many others

voit une quantité d'autres dont les constructions et les couvertures annoncent un fond de pouvreté qui etonne dautant plus les arrivans qui s'attendaient suivant le detail des voyageurs dans ce pays a trouver des habitans dont l'opulence est d'un grand secours pour l'homme qui quitte sa patrie, ecrasé par les malheurs, qui a l'espoir d'y elever avec plus d'aisance ses enfans, et enfin d'y terminer avec satisfaction sa carriere.

pour moi qui ai examiné avec impartialité, et sans passion, une partie de la Louysiane, la maniere d'y vivre, et son solle; je dirai que quoique ces terres soient d'un plus grand rapport qu'une tres grande portion de celle de L'europe, elle ne sont point veritablement ce qu'on en a dit. une trés grande partie de son territoire est noyée, et n'est point salubre, ce qui diminue considerablement la population. si l'on considerait bien ce qu'elle etait il y a trente ans, L'on trouverait peut etre aujourd'huy moins d'homme. il est bien vrai que tous les pays neufs sont sujets a tous ces grands inconveniens, quand même il n'y aurait pas sur la surface de ces terres des naples d'eau. cependant il faut convenir que si les terres y etaient travaillées, et bien egoutées; ce pays serait un excellent pays, et par rapport a sa temperature, et aux differentes et riches productions que l'on peut y recolter, beaucoup de familles viendraient S'y fixer. depuis de Les gouvernemens Europeens en ont pris possession, jamais les gouvernans n'ont protegé ny encouragé la culture, et qu'elle a été jusqu'a ce jour dans une langeur affreuse. le gouvernement espagnol qui tient sous le despotisme et l'inquisition les peuples qu'il gouverne, a toujours tout fait pour arreter a la Louysiane les progrés de la population et de l'industrie rurale et commerciale. les petites insurrections des negres l'ont epouvanté, et il en a empeché l'introduction;

whose construction and roofs show a depth of poverty which is surprising. Much more is it surprising to the arrivals, who expect, according to the stories of travelers, to find in that country a population whose wealth would be a great aid for the man who leaves his fatherland overwhelmed by misfortunes, and who is hopeful of rearing his children there with more comforts, and finally of ending his life there with satisfaction.

As for me, who has examined impartially and without passion a part of Louisiana, the manner of living there and its soil, I will say that, although those lands are much more productive than a very great proportion of the lands of Europe, it is not true what has been said of them. A large part of its territory is swampy and not at all healthful, which considerably diminishes the population. If one were to consider deeply the population of thirty years ago, he would perhaps find fewer people there today. It is quite true that all new countries are subject to all those great disadvantages, even though there were not on the surface of their lands pools [? *des naples*] of water. Yet it must be admitted that if the lands there were worked, and well drained, that would be an excellent country; and because of its temperature, and the various and rich products that can be raised there, many families would come to settle there. Never since the European governments have taken possession of it, have the governors protected or encouraged agriculture, and it has remained fearfully backward to this day. The Spanish government, which holds the peoples that it governs under despotism and the Inquisition,[39] has always made every effort to arrest the advance of the population of Louisiana and its agricultural and commercial industries. The little insurrections of the negroes have frightened it, and the introduction of negroes has been prevented – which has resulted in very consid-

ce qui a fait un tort considerable a tous les cultivateurs. il est bien vrai que si ces infortunés etaient mieux nouris, habilés, et bien traités dans leur servitude, ils auraient pour leur maitres les egards et le respect, la reconnaissance et l'attachement qu'ont tous les hommes en general pour leur bienfaiteur. et jamais ils ne penseraient a l'insurrection. mais un interet sordide dominant toujours les coeur de celui qui commande, fait que les hommes qui lui sont soumis ne peuvent jamais etre heureux.

Cette ville n'offre aucune ressource au malheureux père de famille qui y arrive. ce qui est sur prenant, c'est que l'on trouverait dans son encèinte plus de pauvres, a proportion qu'on en trouve dans les villes de france ce n'est pas peu dire.

Si ceux de la capitale ont perdu de vue cette humanité et ces secours qu'ils ont été fort aises de trouver a leur arrivée, il n'en est pas de même de ceux de la Campagne qui sont bons, humains, et hospitaliers. ils recoivent avec bonté, honneteté, et sensibilité les voyageurs. les habitans des villes uniquement occupés de leur commerce et de leur interet, s'embarassent trés peu de l'etat des arrivans qui y arrivent denués de tout. aussi le voyageur s'y fixe avec beaucoup de peine. le negotiant tenant une grande portion de la campagne dans Ses lieus, le tient continuelement dans la gene. c'est lui, oui lui qui fixe le prix de ses denrées. sur les avances et les prets qu'il lui fait pendant l'année, il les oblige a lui livrer leur recoltes toujours a un prix bien inferieur au cour. aussi ces bons et malheureux colons sont toujours dans le meme etat, et l'on peut dire avec certitude qu'ils ne sont que les ouvriers des marchands.

Si la moitié des terreins de la ville n'est point con-

erable wrong to the planters. It is quite true that were those unfortunate beings better fed and clothed, and well treated in their servitude, they would have regard and respect for their masters, and the gratitude and attachment which all men in general have for their benefactors, and they would never think of insurrection. But since a sordid self interest always dominates the heart of him in power, it happens that those men who are under his authority can never be happy.[40]

That city offers no resource to the unhappy father of a family who goes there. It is a surprising fact that in proportion more poor people are found in its precincts than are found in the cities of France. This is not saying little.

If the inhabitants of the capital have lost sight of that humanity and that aid which they would have been very glad to find on their arrival, the same thing is by no means true of the inhabitants of the country, who are good, humane, and hospitable. They receive travelers with kindness, attention, and cordiality. The inhabitants of the city, occupied only with their own trade and their own selfish interests, trouble themselves but little over the condition of those who arrive there destitute of everything. Consequently, the traveler settles there with much trouble. Since the merchant has mortgages on a great portion of the country, he keeps the new settler continually in trouble. It is he, yes, he, who fixes the price of the settler's products. On the advances and loans which he makes to him during the year, he always forces the settler to deliver to him his products at a price much lower than the current price. Consequently, those kindly and unfortunate colonists are always in the same condition, and it can be asserted with assurance that they are but the workmen of the merchants.[41]

If one-half the district of the city is not built up, it is

struite, ce sont les deux incendies qui y sont arrivés, et qui ont ruiné la plupart des proprietaires qui en sont l'unique cause. il est des rues ou l'on compterait a peine vingt maisons.

La population de cette ville en toutes couleurs n'est que de douze mille ames. les mulatres et les negres sont ouvertement protegés par le gouvernement celui qui frapperait un de ces individus, quand même il lui aurait manqué, serait severement puni. aussi comptait on dans les prisons de la nouvel orleans vingt blancs contre un homme de couleur. leur femmes et leur filles sont tres recherchées des blancs, et les dames blanches estiment quelquefois les hommes de couleur bien faits.

Si la nouvel orleans n'est point salubre, et si le mauvais air que les habitans y respirent, leur occasionment des maladies mortelles; c'est d'un côté, comme je l'ai deja dit, l'abondance des eaux Stagnantes qui faute d'ecoulement, restent a longue année dans les ciprieres qui l'entourent, et qui corrompt l'air qui, devenant putrefaction, empoisonne tous ceux qui y demeurent. d'un autre coté c'est que dans le tems des pluies, les rues sont dans un état affreux. le voisin qui demeure en face de son voisin ne peuvent communiquer ensemble par rapport a l'eau qui y sejourne, aux fumiers que les proprietaires des chevaux ou vaches y jettent, qu'on n'enleve jamais, et encore a une boue pourie d'un demi pied de paisseur qui, lorsque tous ces objets sont a demi Secs, repondent une puanteur qui occasionne aux habitans des maladies mortelles.

il serait cependant bien facile au gouverneur qui peut disposer de tout a sa volonté, de remedier a un aussi grand mal. il est vrai que son grand age et sa maniere de vivre le rendent absolument nul dans le maniement des affaires publiques. aussi il laisse conduire le vais-

due only to the two fires which occurred there and which ruined most of the proprietors. There are streets where scarce twenty houses can be counted.

The population of that city, counting people of all colors, is only twelve thousand souls.[42] Mulattoes and negroes are openly protected by the government. He who was to strike one of those persons, even though he had run away from him, would be severely punished. Also twenty whites could be counted in the prisons of New Orleans against one man of color. The wives and daughters of the latter are much sought after by the white men, and white women at times esteem well built men of color.

If New Orleans is not at all healthful, and if the bad air that its inhabitants breathe occasions fatal diseases, the reason is due in part, as I have already stated, to the abundance of stagnant water, which for lack of drainage, lies the whole year round in the cypress groves which surround the city, and corrupts the air, which becoming putrid, poisons all who live there. On the other hand, during the rainy season, the streets are in a frightful state. The citizen who lives opposite his neighbor can not go to see him because of the water which remains there, the dung of horses and cows thrown there by their owners, which is never removed, and by a putrid slime a foot in depth, which when all things are half dry give rise to a stench that occasions diseases fatal to the inhabitants.

It would, however, be easy for the governor, who can order all things according to his will, to remedy so great an ill. It is true that his great age and his manner of living render him absolutely useless in the management of public affairs.[43] Consequently, he leaves the ship

seau dont il a la direction par des hommes qui ne connaissent d'autres lois que l'or et l'argent. comme au nom du gouverneur leur volonté est imperieuse, les habitans qui ne sont point dans l'aisance, et qui n'approchent qu'avec peine du gouvernement, gemissent sous le poid d'une affreuse oppression.

au moment de mon depart de la nouvel orleans pour France, il y avait dans les prisons plus de soixante assasins impunis. ce crime qui est regardé dans la Societé des hommes policés, comme le plus grand et le plus execrable, n'est point consideré et puni comme tel, sous le gouvernement espagnol dans ses possessions americaines. l'assasin riche en est quitte pour de l'argent; et souvent celui qui n'en peut donner, est envoyé le restant de ses jours, soit au bagne, soit aux mines, il est bien vrai qu'un pendu n'est bon a rien.

L'habitant le plus tranquil, lors qu'il deplait a un magistrat ou a un homme riche, s'il ne fuie promptement, est jette pour sa vie dans les cachots, sans pouvoir en connaitre les motifs. l'on peut assurer qu'il n'existe aucune garantie pour lui. il ne peut même se procurer de deffenseur. toute communication lui est interdite. il peut dire en entrant dans la prison, la lumiere m'est ravie pour toujours. il est des hommes, soit a la havanne, soit a Carthagenes, soit au mexique, soit enfin a la nouvel orleans detenu depuis plusieures années, pour avoir voulu simplement luter contre un homme en credit. ils sont tellement ignorés qu'il n'en est plus question. cette conduite atroce de la part des magistrats contribue beaucoup a la diminution de la population et a l'aneantissement de la culture et du commerce. que les hommes qui vivent Sous un tel gouvernement sont a plaindre! j'ai eprouvé sa fureur, les voleurs de grand chemin et les loups sont moins dangereux. ces

under his direction to men who know no other laws than those of gold and silver. As their will is obligatory [when given] in the name of the governor, the inhabitants who are not well off, and who approach the government with difficulty, groan under the weight of a frightful oppression.

At the time of my departure from New Orleans for France, there were more than sixty unpunished murderers in the prisons. That crime which is regarded in the society of civilized men as the greatest and the most execrable, is not considered and punished as such under the Spanish government in its American possessions. The rich murderer is quit of it for money, while often he who has no money to give, is sent to the galleys or to the mines for the rest of his life. It is quite true that a hanged person is good for nothing.

If the most peaceful inhabitant, who offends a magistrate or a rich man, does not flee promptly, he is cast for life into a dungeon without being enabled to learn the reasons for it. He can be assured that there exists no guaranty for him. He can not even procure defense. All communication is forbidden him. He can say as he enters the prison, "The light is taken from me forever." There are men, either at Havana, or at Cartagena, or at Mexico, or finally at New Orleans, who have been kept in prison for many years simply because they have tried to oppose a man of influence. They are ignored to such a degree that it is no longer a question of them. Such atrocious conduct on the part of the magistrates contributes greatly to the decrease of the population and to the destruction of agriculture and trade. How much have men, who live under such a government, of which to complain! I have experienced its fury.[44] Highwaymen and wolves are less dangerous. Those men with the

hommes avec le fanatisme de la religion romaine portent toujours un christ d'une main et le poignard de l'autre. voila en deux mots comme les peuples qui vivent sous les lois espagnoles sont gouvernés et se conduisent.

il en est bien autrement chez le peuple americain, quoiqu'il soit le plus proche voisin de celui de la Louysiane. les prisons ne sont que l'azil de l'homme condamné par les lois. le citoyen paisible jouit dans ses foyers d'une tranquilité inconnue a la Nouvel orleans. il est a l'abri de toutes les persecutions enfantées par le despotisme et l'ignorence. aucun magistrat ne se permet jamais la moindre vexation envers ses concitoyens. la loi est egalle pour tous les membres de la Societé. c'est pourquoi il regne dans les etats unis de l'amerique une tranquilité et une sureté qui fait le bonheur et la consolation de tous les habitans. aussi l'accroissement de sa population est la preuve la plus complete de son bon gouvernement.

Les habitans de la Louysiane ne reconnaissent d'autre religion que la catholique. cependant ils ne sont point persecuté comme á Carthagenes, a Guatimale, et au Mexique par les pretres pour leur opinion religieuse. L'on ne voit point dans les eglises des milliers de tableaux qui soulevent d'indignation le coeur sensible de l'honnete homme, en representant des milliers de pauvres indiens jettés dans les flammes vivans pour leur opinion religieuse. il n'y existe veritablement d'autre inquisition que celle que les hommes puissans y exercent. toutes les boutiques y sont ouvertes les fetes et les dimanches. les voituriers et les ouvriers travaillent ces jours la comme les autres jours. les jeunes gens des deux sexes après leur diner achevent la journée par des danses, et même passent la nuit dans ces sortes d'exercisses.

fanaticism of the Roman religion always carry a Christ in one hand and a dagger in the other. This, in a few words, is how men living under the Spanish laws are governed, and how they conduct themselves.[45]

It is quite otherwise with the American people, although they are the nearest neighbors of Louisiana. Prisons are only the refuge of men condemned by the laws. The peaceable citizen enjoys at his own fireside a tranquillity unknown in New Orleans. He is sheltered from all persecutions born of despotism and ignorance. No magistrate ever allows himself to exhibit the least anger towards his fellow citizens. The law is equal for all members of society. That is the reason why there reigns a tranquillity and security in the United States of America which makes for the happiness and comfort of all its inhabitants. Thus the increase of its population is the most complete proof of its good government.

The inhabitants of Louisiana recognize no other religion than the Catholic.[46] However, they are not at all persecuted by the priests for their religious opinion as at Cartagena, Gautemala, and Mexico. In its churches are not seen those thousands of pictures which arouse anger in the kind heart of a good man with their portrayal of thousands of poor Indians thrown alive into the flames for their religious opinion. There truly exists there no other Inquisition than that which is exercised there by men of influence. All shops are open there on feast days and Sundays. Drivers and workmen labor on those days just as on other days. The young people of both sexes, after dinner, finish the day by dancing and even pass the night in that sort of exercise.

depuis le premier de l'an, jusques a paques; les sales destinées pour ces sortes de divertissement sont en pleine activité. comme il existe deux castes differentes en couleur, chacune a la sienne. les dammes n'admettent jamais dans leur societé publique aucune personne de couleur.

Le respect que les habitans ont pour les morts est grand. leur enterrement est une ceremonie lugubre, silencieuse et respectueuse. comme elle se repete quatre a cinq fois par jour, le curé qui n'a que de mediocre appointement en tire un bon parti.

Les protestans qui y meurent, ne sont point enterés dans le cimetiere des catholiques, et comme il n'en existe point pour eux, on les depose dans un endroit ouvert qui sert du paturage aux chevaux et aux vaches. il arrive quelquefois que les chiens, en fouillant avec leurs pattes arrachent des ossemens et les rongent; ce qui fait horreur et repugne a l'humanité. mais les espagnols Surtout les francais espagnolisés regardant tous ceux qui ne sont point de la religion catholique, comme des betes brutes et feroces dans leur opinion religieuse, ils voient d'un oeuil tranquil ces atrocités.

un citoyen de philadelphie professant l'etat de matelot, étant a la nouvel orleans dans les prisons ou il se trouva incommodé, demanda un chirurgien. le concierge appella montaigu qui syrendit de suite, et aprés qu'il eust examiné le malade, il lui demanda s'il etait catholique. il lui repondit que non. montaigu lui dit, vous êtes un chien d'anglais a qui je ne donnerai aucuns secours, parceque vous n'avez pas reçu le bapteme, et que vous etes damné. il faut le laisser crever, et ensuite il lui tourna le dos. voila l'aversion que ces brigands fanatiques ont pour ceux qui ne pensent point comme eux en matiere de religion.

From the first of the year until Easter the halls set aside for such amusements are in full swing. Since there are two different castes, divided by color, each has its own hall. [White] ladies never admit into their public society any person of color.[47]

Great respect is shown by the inhabitants for the dead. Their burial is a sad, silent, and respectful ceremony. As this ceremony [i.e., mass] is repeated four or five times a day, the parish priest who has but a modest appointment derives a good profit from it.

Protestants who die there are never buried in the Catholic cemeteries; and since there are no cemeteries for them, there bodies are deposited in an open field which is used as a pasture for horses and cows. Sometimes it happens that dogs, by digging with their feet, get at the bones and gnaw them – a thing that is horrifying and repugnant to humanity. But Spaniards, and especially hispanised Frenchmen, consider all who are not Catholics as beasts, and ferocious in their religious opinion, they look upon all such atrocities with a tranquil eye.

A citizen of Philadelphia, a sailor by occupation, being at New Orleans, asked for a surgeon in the prison where he became ill. The porter summoned Montaigu, who visited him immediately. After examination of the sick man he asked him if he were a Catholic. The latter replied that he was not. Montaigu[48] said to him, "You are an English dog, to whom I will give no aid, for you have not been baptized and are damned." "Let him die." And he immediately turned his back on the sick man. Such is the aversion which those fanatic brigands show for those who do not think as they do in matters of religion.

il n'existe dans cette ville aucune police; ceux qui en sous ordre en sont chargés, ne recevant que de tres foibles appointemens, tirent des boulangers, des cabaretiers, des bouchers, et de ceux qui donnent secretement a jouer des sommes qui au bout de quelques années les mettent dans le cas de se retirer. l'avant dernier gouverneur homme estimé et regretté de tous les bons habitans empechait par sa surveillance la fraude, punissait les coupables et protegeait l'innocent.

Comme il descend des illinois et du Natchée a la nouvel orleans de belles et superbes farines dont le prix ordinaire est de quatre piastres le baril; comme partie de ces farines, faute de consommateurs, reste des années entieres dans des magasins; que pendant ce tems elle se deteriore, les proprietaires les exposent a la vente publique, et ne les vendent ordinairement qu'une piastre a une piastre et demi le baril. les boulangers qui les acheptent, en les melant avec de la bonne, vendent le pain qui en provient aussi chair que celui qui est de pure farine. c'est encore avec ces mauvaises farines qu'ils font le biscuit qu'ils vendent aux capitaines des navires pour les equipages.

Les grands envois de vins que les armateurs font pour la Louysiane, rend cette denrée a trés bon marché. les capitaines et les negocians en vendent trés peu dans leur magasins. il ny a que ceux qui ne peuvent en achepter au comptant qui s'en fournissent chez eux. tous ces vins sont exposés aux ventes publiques. il est des jours que la barique ne s'y vend que dix huit a vingt piastres. les cabaretiers ne faisant leur provisions qu'a la vente. il arrive que, lors qu'ils sont tous assemblés sur la place publique, ils s'entendent au point que lors qu'une piece est fixée a un prix pareux, quelque peu ou quantité qu'il y ait, jamais la barique ne se vend plus chaire.

There are no police in that city. Those who are charged with that duty as subordinates, since they have but very slight appointments, derive from bakers, tavern keepers, butchers, and those who pay secretly for protection sums of money sufficient to allow them to retire within a few years. The last governor but one [Carondelet], a man esteemed and regretted by all good inhabitants, by his watchfulness prevented fraud, punished the guilty, and protected the innocent.[49]

As he descends from Illinois and from Natchez to New Orleans, [the traveler sees] fine, excellent flour, the ordinary price of which is four piastres per barrel. As part of this flour is left, for lack of consumers, in the magazines for whole years, and spoils during that time, the owners expose it at public sale, and generally sell it at one and one-half piastre per barrel. The bakers who buy it, by mixing it with good flour, sell the bread made from it, as dear as that made from pure flour. It is also from that bad flour that the biscuits sold to ship captains for their crews are made.[50]

The great exports of wines which ship furnishers send to Louisiana, make that product very cheap. The captains and merchants sell very little of it in their stores. It is only those who can not pay cash for it who buy it of them. All wines are exposed at public sale. Some days it is sold for only eighteen or twenty piastres per barrel. Since the tavern-keepers only make their purchases at public sale, it happens that when they are all assembled at the market place, they agree among themselves that when any piece is fixed at a certain price by them, however little or much it be, the barrel will never be sold at a higher figure.

L'on ne mange a la nouvel orleans dans l'année que pendant cinq mois de la bonne viande. des le mois de Novembre, les boeufs et les moutons commençant a ne trouver dans les prairies qu'une nouriture legere, perdent leur graisse et deviennent par la suite fort maigres. les boucheurs qui pouraient pendant l'été ramasser du foin pour les nourir pendant L'hiver, ne le font point, aussi lors qu'ils tuent ces animaux, leur viande est gluante et degoutante. ils les tuent et les saignent fort mal. ils la vendent en tout tems six sols la livre. quoiqu'il y ait tous lesjours a la balle. plus de trente boeufs exposés en vente, si le consommateur n'envoye de bonne heure faire sa provision, le paresseux peut etre sur qu'en ne se rendant qu'a huit heures, il n'en trouvera pas. Le cochon que l'on y mange est excellent. les detaillans le vendent un scalin la livre. le monton quoique trés mauvais s'y vend le même prix. la volaille et le gibier quoique trés communs s'y vendent trés chairs.

la halle est bien fournie en poisson. le meilleur est la truite. les carpes qui pesent dix a douze livres ne s'y vendent qu'un escalin. comme ce poisson ne sent que la vase, ce sont ordinairement les negres qui les acheptent. les viandes salées s'y vendent un escalin la livre. la meilleure que l'on y mange est celle de boeufs sauvages qu'on appelle boeufs illinois. il faut avouer que cette viande est excellente au gout. tous les legumes secs ou vertes s'y vendent un prix exhorbitant. l'huille et la graisse a manger y sont quel que fois tres rares. sans les sauvages qui avoisinent la Louysiane, et qui apportent dans leur pirogues des graisses d'ourses appellées huile d'ourse, cette denrée serait hors de prix.

quelques centaines des sauvages avec leur femmes et leur enfans vivent aux environs de la nouvelle orleans, et se retirent dans des ajoupas qu'ils ont construits dans

Good meat is eaten for only five months of the year at New Orleans. From the month of November, since cattle and sheep begin to find only slight nourishment in the meadows, they lose their fat and thereafter become very thin. The butchers, who could get hay during the summer to feed them during the winter, do not do it; and consequently when they kill those animals their flesh is sticky and distasteful. They kill and bleed animals very badly. They sell the flesh at all times at six sols per pound. Although more than thirty beef are daily exposed for sale at the market, if the consumer does not send early to lay in his supplies, the tardy one may rest assured that he will find none, even if it be only at eight o'clock. The pork used for food there is excellent. Retailers sell it at one escalin[51] per pound. Mutton, although very poor, sells there at the same price. Fowls and game, although very common, sell very dear.

The market is well furnished with fish, the best of which is trout. Carps weighing ten or twelve pounds are sold at only one escalin. Since the latter fish smells only of the mud, it is generally the negroes who buy them. Salt meats sell there at one escalin per pound. The best salt meat is made from the wild cattle which are called Illinois cattle.[52] It must be confessed that that flesh is excellent to the taste. All vegetables, whether dry or green, sell only for an exorbitant price there. Eating oil and fat are sometimes very scarce there. Were it not for the savages living near Louisiana and who bring in their pirogues bear's fat, called bear's oil, that product would be priceless.[53]

Some hundreds of savages with their wives and children live on the outskirts of New Orleans, and live apart in the huts which they have constructed on the vacant

des terreins vaquans. ces hommes ne travaillent jamais. ils vont continuelement a la chasse. ils tuent avec beaucoup d'adresse le gibier qu'ils vendent trés bien. ceux d'entre eux qui n'ont point de fusils, se servent d'un jonc dans le quel ils mettent de petites pierres ou des pois ronds, et en soufflant dedans ils atteignent si bien les lapins qu'ils les tuent avec autant d'adresse que s'ils se servaient d'un fusil. leur femmes vont de leur côté dans les forets ramasser du bois qu'elles apportent en ville. elle en vendent encore par jour pour trente six a quarente Sols. elle s'occupent encore a faire des paniers en jonc qu'elles vendent trés bien.

Ces Sauvages n'ont jamais de souci ny de chagrin; ils aiment beaucoup le tafia et la danse. ils jouissent particulierement de la protection du gouvernement qui leur fait tous les ans des presens qui consistent dans des pieces de draps, des couvertures en laine dont ils s'enveloppent le corps, des fusils, de la poudre et du plom. ils vont toujours nuds tête. ils ont de superbes et gros cheveux noirs qu'ils rougissent, et qui leur tombent jusques aux talons. ils sy attachent des plumes de diverses couleurs. ils se font des incisions a la figure et a l'estomach qu'ils rougissent egalement. ils portent au bout du nez et aux oreilles des pandeloeres, et au con des colliers dont les perles sont aussi de differentes couleurs. ils n'ont a proprement parler aucune religion. ils ne sont point mechans, et jamais ils n'attaquent personne. cependant les habitans se me [*for* ne] fient d'eux, parcequ'ils prennent ce qu'ils trouvent, quand on ne prend point garde a eux. souvent c'est la faim qui les contraint a voler. ah! si ces hommes travaillaient, ils soutiendraient leur familles. mais ils regardent comme indignes de vivre ceux d'entre eux qui travailleraient. cela est si vrai, c'est quun habitant ayant un jour rencontré un de leur

lands. Those men never work, but are continually at the chase. They kill game with great dexterity, and sell it for excellent prices. Those among them who have no guns, make use of a reed in which they place small pebbles or round peas, and by blowing through the reed, they strike rabbits so well that they kill them with as great skill as if they were using guns.[54] On their side, the women go into the forests to gather wood, which they carry into the city. They still sell the wood per day for thirty-six or forty sols. They also busy themselves in making reed baskets which they sell at good prices.

Those savages have no care or troubles; and greatly love taffia and dancing. They especially enjoy the protection of the government which makes them annual presents, consisting of pieces of cloth, woolen blankets which they wrap around their bodies, guns, powder, and lead. They always go bareheaded. They have magnificent long black hair which they color red and which falls almost to their heels. To their hair they fasten feathers of various colors. They make cuts on the face and the stomach which they also color red. They wear pendants [*pandeloeres* for *pendeloques*?] at the end of the nose and in the ears, and collars about the neck, the pearls of which are also of various colors. Properly speaking they have no religion. They are not at all evilly inclined, and never attack anyone. Nevertheless the inhabitants never trust them because they take whatever they find when one is not watching them. It is often hunger which constrains them to steal. Ah! if those men would only work, they could support their families. But they think those among them who would work as unworthy. That is so true that one day an inhabitant having found one of their children alone,

enfans, seul. il le prist par la main, et il le conduisit dans son domaine, ou il y est resté une dixaine d'années a se fortifier au travail.

Cet enfant fut rencontré un jour par une douzaine de sauvages qui le reconnurent a sa couleur, et qui aprés lui avoir demandé, pourquoi il etait vetu, et ou il demeurait, enfin ce qu'il fesait; sur sa reponse, ils le mirent a mort.

quoique bien des gens a la nouvel orleans considerent ces hommes comme les plus heureux sur la terre; pour moi je dis qu'ils sont fort a plaindre. et que s'ils cultivaient et defrichaient le bon sol qu'ils habitent, ils jouiraient enfin des douceurs de la vie qu'ils n'ont jamais connu.

Le commerce des bois serait trés avantageux pour celui qui en ferait son etat. le bois quoique trés commun et trés facile a conduire, se vend quatre piastres la corde; ce sont, comme je l'ai deja observé, les proprietaires des habitations qui avoisinent le fleuve qui en fournissent les habitans de la ville qui en manquent souvent.

il y a beaucoup d'ouvriers de toute espece a la nouvel orleans. tous les hommes de couleur ou negres libres font apprendre des metiers a leurs garçons et [de: *crossed out in original*] donner une education particuliere a leur filles qu'ils marient rarement. Lorsqu'elles atteignent treize a quatorze ans, leur mère les placent ordinairement avec des blancs qui ont pour elles beaucoup plus regards dans leur menage, qu'ils n'en auraient pour leur femme legitime. aussi les dammes ont elle pour ces sortes de femmes le plus grand mepris et la plus grande aversion.

ces femmes inspirent tellement la volupté par leur maintien leur gestes et leur vetemens, qui plusieures personnes trés fortunées, se sont ruinées pour leur plaire. il est bon de remarquer que quand elle s'appercoivent

took him by the hand and led him to his house, where he remained for ten years strengthening himself with toil.

One day that youth was met by a dozen savages, who recognized him by his color and who after having asked why he was clothed and where he lived, and finally what he did, at his answer put him to death.

Although many of the people of New Orleans consider those men as the happiest in the world, I maintain that they are greatly to be pitied, and that if they were to cultivate and clear the good soil that they live on, they would, in short, enjoy pleasures of life which they have never known.[55]

The wood trade would be very advantageous for him who would engage in it. Wood, although very common, and very easy to bring in, sells for four piastres per cord. It is, as I have already observed, the owners of the plantations along the river who furnish with wood the inhabitants of the city who often are in want of it.

There are many workmen of all kinds at New Orleans. All the men of color or free negroes[56] make their sons learn a trade, and give a special education to their daughters whom they rarely marry off. When the girls attain the age of thirteen or fourteen, their mothers usually place them with white men, who have generally much more regard for them in their domestic economy than they do for their legitimate wives. However, the [white] women show the greatest contempt and aversion for that sort of women.

Those women inspire such lust through their bearing, their gestures, and their dress, that many quite well-to-do persons are ruined in pleasing them. It is worth noting that when those women perceive that the men with

que ceux avec qui elle vivent, n'ont plus rien, elle les quittent, les abandonnent et en prennent un autre. celles d'entre elle qui font des enfans ont trés grand Soin de les elever dans ces memes sentimens.

en considerant de prés avec attention et avec impartialité L'enfant de couleur, quand il est en etat de penser, l'on decouvre en lui tant de vices qu'on ne peut S'empecher de le regarder que comme le fruit d'un libertinage outré. dans toutes les isles de l'amerique ou l'on trouve en quantité de ces sortes d'hommes, leur education, leur maniere d'agir, et leur sentiment Sont partout les memes. en general tous ces etres ont un souverain mepris pour leur mere surtout lors qu'elles sont noires.

il est un exemple frappant arrivé a St domingue qui l'effraie l'ame, et qui merite pour l'instruction generale d'etre rapporté.

un proprietaire blanc vivait depuis trés long tems avec sa negresse esclave. il avait eu d'elle plusieurs enfans. peu de tems aprés leur naissance, il leur donnait a chacun la liberté qu'il avait soin de faire ratifier par le gouvernement. un jour qu'il rentrait chez lui; il fut instruit que cette negresse sa menagere accordait pendant son absence des momens luxurieux a son voisin. ce qui arrive assez souvent dans ces sortes de menage. voulant absolument s'en venger, il chercha dans sa coeur a lui infliger un chatiment. mais il n'en trouva pas un plus grand que de la vendre. bientôt il la fit annoncer dans les papiers publics. un de ces enfans qui etait menuisier, L'achepta. cette negresse charmée d'appartenir a son fils espere qu'elle jouira enfin de sa liberté, et que son fils aura pour elle les égards et le respect que les enfans doivent avoir pour les autheurs de leurs jours. mais un interet atroce ayant dominé le coeur de son enfant, il foula aux pieds les droits de la nature, ne vo-

whom they live have nothing more, they desert and abandon them, and take up with another [white] man. Those among them who have children, are very careful to rear them in the same sentiments.

If one study closely and impartially the child of color when the latter is old enough to think, he discovers in him so many vices that he can not help from regarding him as the fruit of the worst libertinage. In all the American islands, where many of that sort of men are to be found, their education, their manner of acting, and their sentiments are everywhere the same. In general all those creatures have a sovereign contempt for their mothers, especially when the latter are black.

A striking illustration occurred in San Domingo, which horrifies the soul, and which merits being told for general instruction.

A white proprietor had been living for a very long time with his negress slave, and had had several children by her. Shortly after the birth of each child he had given him his liberty, which he had been careful to have certified by the government. One day as he entered his house, he learned that that negress, his housekeeper, was granting during his absence luxurious moments to his neighbor—a thing that occurs very frequently in this kind of household. Desiring to be thoroughly revenged, he sought in his heart how he might punish her, but found no punishment greater than to sell her. Soon he had the sale announced in the public papers. One of those children who was a carpenter bought her. That negress, delighted at belonging to her son, was in hopes that she would finally enjoy her liberty, and that her son would have for her the regard and respect that children owe the authors of their being. But a frightful self-interest having dominated the heart of her son, he trampled under foot the rights of nature. Seeing in his

yant dans sa mere que son esclave, il lui ordonna de travailler, mais elle s'y refusa, en lui reprochant sa situation et son âge. aussitôt la rage s'empara de ce monstre. il fut prendre sa mere par un de ces esclaves, *car deja il en avait quatre.* il la fit attacher sur un echel par les quatre membres et il lui fit donner cinquante coups de fouet sur le derriere. le sang de cette infortunée mere ruisselant de tout côté. ne pouvant survivre a un tel affront, a un tel malheur, elle rentra de suite dans sa case, s'attacha une corde au col, et elle se pendit.

toutes les mulatresses sans en excepter peut etre une seule, soit a la Louysiane, soit ailleurs, ont egalement un Souverain mepris pour les negresses leur méres. quoique ce tableau dechire l'ame sensible, il est cependant trés necessaire que je rapporte cet forfait inoui afin de faire connaitre a tous ceux qui ont plaints a St domingue cette caste, Lorsque les blancs et les noirs les ont mis en grande partie a mort, ils meritaient en quelque façon ce chatiment terrible.

il est prouvé que tous les proprietaires de couleur, Lors de leur insurrection, ne la faisaient que pour eux, et qu'ils se sont toujours opposé a la liberté generalle. s'ils avaient bien senti que leur sort politique etait lié a celui des noirs, ils n'auraient pas commis tant d'erreur. et toussaint L'ouverture pendant son consulat ne leur aurait pas fait une guerre d'extermination. tous les amis de la liberté et de l'egalité ennemis des meurtres et des assasinats ont considerés la conduite de L'ouverture quoi qu'atroce, comme fondée; parceque tant chef des noirs, il avait a venger sa caste si outragée sous l'ancien regime et meme sous le nouveau, par les hommes de couleur. si ces derniers avaient dés le commencement de l'insurrection de St. domingue executé leur plan infernal contre les blancs Leur pére, jamais la

mother only his slave, he ordered her to work. But she refused, reproaching him because of her situation and her age. That monster immediately flew into a rage. He ordered his mother to be seized by one of his slaves, for already he had four slaves, and had her fastened to a ladder by her four members, and had fifty strokes of the lash applied to her back. The blood of that unhappy mother was scattered on all sides. Unable to survive such an insult and such a misfortune, she immediately entered her cabin, fastened a cord about her neck, and hanged herself.

All mulatto women, not excepting perhaps a single one, whether in Louisiana or elsewhere, have alike a sovereign contempt for their negro mothers. Although this picture tears the sensitive soul, yet it is very necessary for me to recount that unheard-of crime, in order that all those who have pitied that caste in San Domingo may recognize that although the whites and the blacks have in great part put them to death, they merited that terrible punishment in some degree.

It has been proven that all the proprietors of color, at the time of their insurrection, only engaged in it for themselves, and that they are always opposed to general liberty. Had they fully perceived that their political lot was bound up with that of the blacks, they would not have committed so great an error, and Toussaint l'Ouverture, would not have waged a war of extermination on them during his consulate. All friends of liberty and equality, hostile to murders and assassinations, have considered the conduct of l'Ouverture, although atrocious, as well founded; for as leader of the blacks he had to avenge his caste so greatly outraged under the ancient régime and even under the new by the men of color. Had these last from the beginning of the insurrection of San Domingo executed their infernal plan against

liberté n'aurait existé a St domingue. Si l'aristocrate Rigaud eust vaincu toussaint louverture, lors que ce dernier, en marchant contre lui, La contraint d'abandonner la colonie, les noirs seraient aujourdhuy dans l'esclavage. si les generaux le clerc et rochambaud au lieu de fusilles, noyer, faire devorer par des chiens les hommes noirs, les eussent acceuillis favorablement, c'etait encore fait de leur Liberté; dans quelques années ils auraient essuyé un plus dur esclavage qu'autrefois. mais aujourdhuy le gouvernement français et les proprietaires de St domingue doivent revenir de leur erreur. heureux pour le commerce francais si ces hommes noirs que ont tant souffert pour leur liberté, veulent bien reçevoir un jour un agent de ce meme gouvernement qui a tout fait pour les anneantir. cette affaire est fort douteuse. au reste le tems nous l'apprendra.

Le prix ordinaire des journées des ouvriers ou ouvrieres est de quatre scalins. relativement au prix des loyers de maison et de toutes les denrées en general, il en est fort peu qui soient a leur aise. si les pères et mères qui ont de nombreuses familles a nourir et a entretenir, au lieu de donner des metiers a leurs enfans, en faisaient des cultivateurs, et qu'ils se fissent conceder par le gouvernement qui n'en refuse a personne, des terres; lorsque ces pères de famille sont dans un âge avancé, ils ne seraient pas reduits a une extreme misere, et le plus souvent a charge a leurs enfants qui leur font eprouver chaque jour des chagrins qui affoiblissent leur santé, et qui les conduit vingt ans plutôt dans la tombe.

La commerce est dans une Stagnation qui epouvante le marchand. tous les petits detaillans ne vendent presque rien dans la semaine. beaucoup d'entre eux pour vivre et pour payer leur loyer qui echoit tous les mois,

the whites, their fathers, liberty would never have existed in San Domingo. Had the aristocrat Rigaud[57] conquered Toussaint l'Ouverture,[58] when the latter marched against him and compelled him to abandon the colony, the blacks would today be slaves. Had Generals Leclerc[59] and Rochambaud,[60] instead of shooting and drowning the blacks, and having them devoured by dogs, received them favorably, their liberty would also have been at an end. Within a few years they would have suffered a more grievous slavery than before.[61] But today the French government and the proprietors of San Domingo must retrieve their error. It would be fortunate for French trade if the blacks, who have endured so much for their liberty, would one day give a good reception to an agent of that same government which has done everything to annihilate them. That is very doubtful. For the rest time will show us.

The ordinary day wage for men or women workers is four escalins.[62] Relatively to the price of house rent and of all products in general, there are very few who live in comfort. If the fathers and mothers who have large families to feed and support, would make planters of their children instead of giving them trades, and if they would have lands granted to them by the government which refuses them to no person, those heads of families, when they reach an advanced age, would not be reduced to an extreme poverty and most often to becoming a burden on their children, who make them daily experience troubles that enfeeble their health and which carry them to the tomb twenty years too soon.

Trade is in a state of stagnation which terrifies the merchant. All the small retailers sell scarcely anything during the week. Many of them, in order to live and to pay their rent, which falls due monthly, according to

c'est un usage adopté, sont obligés, d'exposer leur marchandise a la vente publique.

Les toiles, les draps, les chapeaux, et la bijouterie sont d'un tiers a meilleur marché qu'en france. les magasins en sont remplis. il est aujourdhuy clairement demontré que la nouvel orleans est approvisionnée en marchandises seches pour plus de cinq ans, quand même il y aurait un tiers de consommateurs de plus.

Les armateurs de france qui y ont envoyé depuis un an des marchandises, ont eprouvé de grandes pertes. si ce n'etait le retour des denrées que les capitaines y acheptent a trés bon marché, il serait impossible qu'ils pussent y faire un second voyage.

en janvier, fevrier, et mars dix huit cent trois, le coton tout embalé ne s'y vendait que quinze a seize piastres le cent. pendant qu'en france a la meme epoque, il s'y vendait quarente cinq. l'indigo et les pelletries y sont a trés bas prix. aussi les capitaines en acheptent beaucoup et dedomagent par la les armateurs des pertes qu'ils ont eprouvé dans la vente de leurs marchandises.

une ordonnance de l'avant dernier gouverneur, d'après les deux incendies qui sont arrivés a la nouvel orleans, avait fait deffense aux proprietaires de ne plus a l'avenir construire. et couvrir les maisons en bois. cette ordonnance sage, quoique fondée sur l'interêt general et particulier, n'a point eûe son execution depuis son depart.

Ce dernier gouverneur ou pour mieux dire son conseil n'y a point tenu la main. au contraire il souffre les proprietaires poser devant leur porte des escaliers postiches, ce qui diminue les trotoirs de plus de moitié qui sont si utils pour le passage, attendu que dans le tems des pluies, il est impossible aux habitans de marcher dans les rues. cependant ce terrein occupé par les proprietaires des maisons ne leur appartient point. il est de toute justice

the custom adopted, are forced to expose their goods at public sale.

Linens, cloths, hats, and jewelry are to be bought one-third cheaper than in France. The stores are full of them. It is today clearly evident that New Orleans is supplied with dry-goods for more than five years, even were there a third more consumers.

The exporters of France who have sent merchandise during the last year have experienced great losses. Were it not for the return of the products which the captains buy there at excellent bargains, it would be impossible for them to make a second voyage there.

In January, February, and March, of eighteen hundred and three, cotton all baled sold there for only fifteen or sixteen piastres per hundred, while in France at the same time, it sold for forty-five. Indigo and pelts are very cheap there. Therefore, the captains bought many of them and recouped the exporters for the losses which they have experienced in the sale of their goods.[63]

An ordinance issued by the governor before the last one, after the occurrence of two fires at New Orleans, had forbidden proprietors longer to construct and roof their houses with wood. That sage order, although founded on general and private interest, has not been obeyed since his departure.

This last governor, or to speak better his council, has not in any way held command. On the contrary, he allows proprietors to place outside stairways before their doors. That diminishes the width of the sidewalks by more than half, and they are so useful for passage, for in the rainy season it is impossible for the inhabitants to walk in the streets. Nevertheless that land occupied by the proprietors of the houses does not belong to them.

que le gouvernement d'aujourd'huy reprime la cupidité des proprietaires, en leur faisant oter leurs escaliers postiches.

Les fortifications et les palisades qui entourent la ville, ainsi que les trois portes d'entrées connues sous les noms de la porte de france, du baïoux, et du petit colas ou St Louis tombent aujourd'huy en ruine. les soldats effeminés qui les gardent, n'empecheraient pas d'y entrer six cents hommes bien aggueris. il n'y a proprement parler qu'un seul fauxbourg. il est situé, en remontant le fleuve, au bout de la ville. il n'est separé d'elle que par des pieux et par un fort en mauvais etat. c'est en passant par le porte St Louis, qu'on y arrive. les belles maisons qui donnent sur le fleuve appartiennent soit a de riches habitans de la campagne, soit aux plus riches negocians de la ville. elle servent d'entrepot pour les denrées et marchandises. l'enceinte de ce fauxbourg est presqu'aussi grand que celui de la ville. le commerce de ses habitans etant un commerce interloppe, il devient trés considerable en pelletries, en farines, en cotons, en sucre, en indigo en jambons et en viandes salées, et dans une quantité prodigieuse de marchandises de toute espece. toutes les denrées proviennent de l'empire de la Louysiane et de la province du Natchée. toutes ces marchandises proviennent tant des etats unis de l'amerique que l'europe.

L'on compte deja dans ce fauxbourg plus de deux a trois cents feux. ses rues sont trés larges et trés bien alignées. l'on y voit au centre une superbe y grande place destinée a y etablir un marché. il y a tout lieu de croire que dans quelques années, actuelement que la Louysiane appartient aux etats unis de l'amerique, l'on y comptera autant de population et de maisons que dans la ville. dailleurs l'observateur remarque que ceux qui

It is justifiable on all sides for the present government to check the greed of the proprietors by making them remove those outside stairways.

The fortifications and palisades which surround the city, as well as the three gates of entrance, known under the names of the gate of France, the Bayou [gate] and the Petit Colas or [gate of] St. Louis, are to-day falling into ruins.[64] The effeminate soldiers who guard them could not prevent six hundred well seasoned men from entering the city. Properly speaking there is but one suburb. It is located up stream at the extremity of the city. It is separated from it only by stakes and by a fort in poor condition. It is reached by passing the gate St. Louis. The beautiful houses which give on the river belong either to the rich inhabitants of the country or to the richest merchants of the city. They are used as depots for products and goods. The circumference of that suburb is almost as great as that of the city. The trade of its inhabitants, although a surreptitious trade, is coming to be very considerable in pelts, flour, cotton, sugar, indigo, hams, and salt meats, and in a vast quantity of merchandise of all kinds. All the products proceed from the empire of Louisiana and the province of Natchez. All those kinds of merchandise come both from the United States of America and from Europe.[65]

It is reckoned that there are already two or three thousand houses in that suburb. Its streets are very wide and excellently laid out. In the center is seen a magnificent large place where it is purposed to establish a market. There is every reason to believe that within a few years, when Louisiana really belongs to the United States of America, as large a population and as many houses will be seen as in the city. Besides, the observer will

y demeurent, y jouissent d'une bonne santé et que l'air y est trés bon et trés sain.

en sortant par la porte de france et aprés avoir cotoyé une demie lieue les jolies et agreables maisons de campagne, ainsi que les belles sucreries qui sont sur les bords du fleuve; l'on trouve une route qui conduit a la terre aux boeufs distante de la ville d'environ cinq lieues. cette commune est tres entendue et bien peuplée. elle est le siege commandant de quartier et d'un curé dont les revenus sont au moins de dix mille francs par an. la terre de cette commune est haute, bonne et d'un trés grand rapport. tout ce que les proprietaires y plantent, y vient trés bien. quoiqu'ils n'aient pas assez de bras pour cultiver leur terre; cependant avec peu de force, ils recoltent de fort bon sucre, de l'indigo, du coton, du mahi beaucoup de feves et d'aricots. c'est avec leur superbe basse coure qu'ils approvisionnent les marchés de la ville de boeur qu'ils vendent jusqu'a cinquante Sols la livre, d'oeufs, de volailles, de cochons et de legumes. on peut assurer que Sans le Secours de ces braves gens que l'on peut considerer comme les meilleurs cultivateurs du pays. les habitans de la ville manqueraient de beaucoup de choses.

Comme cette vaste paroisse tient a des forets immenses dans les quelles on ne trouve ny chemins ni habitations; il faut absolument que le voyageur qui veut avoir une connoissance parfaite de la Louysiane, révienne sur ces pas a la nouvel orleans, et qu'il sorte par la porte du baïoux, ou il trouve a cent pas plus loin quelques maisons de campagne, plusieures thuileries et briqueries, un grande hospice destiné aux lepreux dans lequel, ils s'en trouvent une quarentaine, eloigné d'environ trois cents pas du grand chemin qui conduit au

remark that those who live there, enjoy good health, and that the air there is very good and healthful.

As one leaves by the gate of France, and after he has passed for a half league those handsome and pleasant country houses, as well as those beautiful sugar plantations located along the banks of the river, he passes a road which leads to the Terre aux Boeufs,[66] distant about five leagues from the city. That community is very extensive and well populated. It is the seat of a district commandant [*commandant du quartier*] and of a curacy, the revenues of which are at least ten thousand francs per year. The land of that community is high, excellent, and of very great productiveness. Everything planted there by the proprietors thrives very well. Although they have insufficient hands to cultivate their land, yet with very few people they harvest excellent sugar, indigo, cotton, maize, and many kidney beans and common beans. From their splendid farmyards, they furnish the markets of the city with butter, which is sold at fifty sols per pound, eggs, fowls, hogs, and vegetables. It may be asserted that without the aid of those fine people, who may be considered the best planters in the country, the inhabitants of the city would lack many things.

Since that vast parish contains immense forests, in which are found neither roads nor habitations, it is absolutely necessary for the traveler who desires to have a perfect knowledge of Louisiana to retrace his steps to New Orleans, and to go out by the gate of the Bayou. A hundred paces from that gate he will find some country houses, several tile and brick yards, a large hospice for lepers, containing about two score lepers, distant about three hundred paces from the main road leading

petit port du grand baïoux eloigné de trois quarts de lieu de la ville, ou l'on voit dans sa rade quelques batimens marchands, et un pont de bois que l'on ouvre, quand les capitaines de ces batimens veulent au moyen du canal les conduire jusqu'a la nouvel orleans.

il y a dans cet endroit charmant des sales de danse, des caffés et des billards. plusieures personnes des deux sexes de la ville s'y rendent, quand le chemin est practicable. les plaisirs que les jeunes personnes s'y procurent, attirent beaucoup de monde. comme cet endroit ne craint point le debordement des eaux plusieurs habitans se plaisent beaucoup mieux dans ce charmant lieu que sur les bords du missisipi, ou les riverains craignent a chaque instant d'etre submergé.

maintenant que j'ai fait un rapport vrai et juste de ce que j'ai vu et examiné scrupuleusement depuis la balise jusques a la nouvel orleans, son fauxbourg et ses alentours, je vais a present dans ma seconde partie parler des differens quartiers et des differentes provinces qui forment l'empire de la Louysiane, de la culture, des productions, du commerce de ses habitans, de leur maniere de vivre, de leur mines, des differens oiseaux et animaux que l'on y trouve, et enfin des nations sauvages qui sont les voisins et les amis des habitans de la Louysiane, de leur relations commerciales, et de leur religion.

Fin de la premiere partie

to the small port of the Grand Bayou,[67] which is about three quarters of a league from the city. In the roadstead of that port are seen some merchantmen, and a wooden bridge which is opened when the captains of those vessels wish to take them by means of the canal to New Orleans.

That place has charming dance halls, cafés, and billiard parlors. Many persons of both sexes go thither when the roads are practicable. The pleasures procured there by the young folks attract many people. Since the overflow of the waters is not feared in that place, many inhabitants are better pleased in that charming place than along the shores of the Mississippi, where the river dwellers fear to be submerged at any moment.

Now that I have made a true and exact report of what I have seen and examined scrupulously, from Balize to New Orleans, its suburbs and surroundings, I shall proceed to speak in my second part of the various quarters and provinces, which make up the empire of Louisiana; of the agriculture, products, trade of its inhabitants, their manner of living, their mines, their several birds and animals found there; and finally of the savage nations who are the neighbors and friends of the inhabitants of Louisiana, and of their commercial relations, and their religion.

End of the first part

Suite des reflexions historiques et politiques sur la Louysiane

Seconde partie

en sortant du port du grand baïoux, et apres avoir descendu la riviere sur les bords de la quelle, on ny voit aucune habitation, et dont les eaux se perdent a deux lieues plus loin dans le lac; on trouve sur ses rives plusieures maisons de cultivateurs qui ocupent leurs esclaves a faire du godron et de la braie ainsi que du charbon qu'ils vendent trés bien. les negres qu'ils emploient a ce travail, leurs rapportent chaque annee quinze cent francs ou trois cents piastres par tete. les forets dans les quelles ces marchandises se fabriquent sont remplies de toutes les simples que l'on trouve en europe. la seguine et la sasefras que l'on arrache du Sein de la terre, sont emploiés avec succés dans les maladies critiques si communes a la nouvelle orleans. quoique les terres y soient bonnes et quelle soient egalement propres a produire toutes les denrées que l'on recolte a la Louysiane, les habitans de ce quartier s'en tiennent a leur fabrique. ils nourissent beaucoup de vaches et ils font de leur lait d'assez bons fromages qu'ils portent vendre a la ville. ils elevent des cochons et des volailles en quantité. ils trouvent dans les bois des chevreuils et du gibier de toute espece. ils pechent dans le lac beaucoup de poisson qu'ils vendent a la ville. on peut assurer que ces habitans, sans être riches, ne manquent de

CARTE GENERALE
DES ÉTATS-UNIS
Pour servir à l'Histoire de la Louisiane.
1829
ACCROISSEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS PAR LE TRAITÉ ET PAR SES DIFFERENTES ACQUISITIONS
ÉTATS-UNIS AVANT LE TRAITÉ
Territoire du Nord-Ouest
LOUISIANE
MEXIQUE
ancien et nouveau
Pays occupé par l'Angleterre après la paix de 1783.
Les Anglais et les Américains étaient convenus que cette côte resterait ouverte au commerce des deux nations jusqu'au mois d'octobre 1828. Ils n'ont pas encore accordé
Territoires et Pays occupés par les États-Unis à la suite du traité de cession de la Louisiane
Suivant d'autres cartes la Louisiane s'étendait jusqu'au 49e degré de longitude occidentale
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio
Missouri
Kentucky
Tennessee
Arkansas
Texas
Mississipi
Alabama
Caroline du Nord
Caroline du Sud
Virginie
Pensylvanie
New-York
Maine
Vermont
Lac Supérieur
Lac des Bois
Lac Erie
L. Ontario
Lac Michigan
Lac Huron
Lac Winnipeg
Baye de James
Québec
Missouri
Platte
Arkansas
Rouge
Sabine
Nouvelle Orléans
Nouvelle Iberville
Nouvelle Pensacola
Nouvelle Mobile
Nouvelle Orléans ou St Bernard
Nouvelles Attacapas
Nouvelles Opelousas
Nouvelles Natchitoches
Nouvelles Arkansas
Nouvelles Illinois
Nouvelles Missouri
Nouvelles Orléans
Nouvelles Pensacola
Nouvelles Mobile
Nouvelles Iberville

Continuation of the historical and political reflections on Louisiana

Second part

As one leaves the port of the Grand Bayou, and after having descended the river, on whose banks no habitations are to be seen, and whose waters lose themselves in the lake two leagues farther on, he finds along its banks many houses of planters who occupy their slaves in making pitch and resin as well as charcoal which they sell at a good price. The negroes whom they employ at that work bring them in annually fifteen hundred francs or three hundred piastres apiece. The forests where those products are made are full of all the simples which are found in Europe. The *seguine* and sassafras which are taken from the bosom of the earth, are employed with success in the critical diseases so common to New Orleans. Although the lands there are good and as suitable for the production of all the products which are raised in Louisiana the inhabitants of that quarter hold to their manufactures. They rear many cows, from the milk of which they make excellent cheese which they take into the city to sell. They raise hogs and fowls in quantity. In the woods are found deer and game of all kinds. They catch many fish in the lake which they sell in the city. It may be asserted that those inhabitants, while not rich, lack for nothing, and live very happily.

rien, et vivent fort heureux s'ils avaient plus d'ouvriers, ils feraient promptement fortune. peu d'entre eux sont mariés. l'aisance qu'ils ont pour se procurer des femmes de couleur, les determinent a n'en point prendre de legitimes. il n'y a point en cet endroit d'eglises et de curé. il y a lieu de croire que sous le gouvernement americain qui ne salarie aucun ministre, il ne s'y en etablira jamais.

Les voyageurs qui ont envie d'aller par terre au mexique eloigné de la nouvelle Orleans de cinq cents lieues, y trouvent de l'autre bord du lac une route assez commode pour ne point s'egarer. aprés avoir marché cent cinquante lieues, ils arrivent chez les chapta, nation sauvage et assez nombreuse en population, chez qui ils sont bien reçus. comme sur la route ils se trouvent plusieurs vilages habités par differentes autres nations qui sont egalement les amis des voyageurs ils ne sont point en peine pour se procurer ce dont ils ont besoin pour leur vie et meme pour tous autres secours. ces enfans de la nature leur donnent des guides, et les mettent a l'abri de toutes insultes. ils ne reconnaissent d'autre divinité que le soleil. leur seule et unique occupation est la chasse. les trauvaux de l'agriculture sont faits par leur femmes. ce sont elle qui pourvoient a la nouriture de leur famille. ces differentes nations portent leur pelletries a la nouvel Orleans qu'ils vendent indistinctement a ceux qui en font le commerce. ils sont aujourd'huy bien plus civilisés qu'ils ne l'etaient il y a vingt ans. ils vivent les uns et les autres avec beaucoup plus d'union qu'autrefois.

Les sauvages qui avoisinent le mexique envoient tous les ans des deputes qu'ils choisissent entre eux auprés du viceroi qui leur fait des presens, et qui reçoit d'eux le serment d'etre pour toujours les amis des espagnols,

If they had more hands, they would quickly make their fortunes. Few among them are married. The ease with which they procure women of color determine them not to take legitimate wives. There is no church nor any priest in that place. It is to be believed that under the American government which never pays a salary to any minister, one will never be established.

Travelers who desire to go overland to Mexico, which is about five hundred leagues from New Orleans, find there on the other side of the lake a very comfortable road from which they will not go astray.[68] After having made five hundred leagues, they reach the Choctaws, a savage and very populous nation, by whom they will be well received. Since they will come across many villages along the route inhabited by various other nations, who are also friendly to travelers, they will have no trouble in procuring what they need to sustain life, and even other aid. Those children of nature will furnish them with guides, and will shelter them from all outrages. They recognize no other divinity than the sun. Their only one occupation is the chase. Agricultural labor is performed by their women, and the latter provide the food for the family. Those several nations carry their pelts to New Orleans and sell them indiscriminately to those who trade in them. They are now much more civilized than they were twenty years ago, and live in much greater harmony with one another than formerly.

The savages living near Mexico send annually deputies chosen from among them to the viceroy who makes them presents and receives from them the oath to always maintain friendship with the Spaniards, to defend them,

de les deffendre, de les proteger et de les secourir, en cas de besoin. ceux qui avoisinent la Louysiane en font autant auprés du gouverneur ou de part et d'autre le traité est pleinement executé.

Les agens du Roi d'Espagne en se conduisant ainsi envers le peuple sauvage, mettent a l'abri de toute devastation les proprietés des habitans de la campagne, ainsi que leur personne. ils tiennent ce traité sage et politique des agens du roi de france, lorsque la Louysiane lui appartenait.

Le Gouvernement francais en se conduisant ainsi envers les sauvages avait bien sçu apprecier leur forces, leur adresse, leur courage et leur population. vingt fois le gouvernement Espagnol a voulu enfreindre le traité qui lie ces nations; vingt fois il a été vaincu; et les proprietaires eloignés de la nouvelle orleans ont est pillé, devasté et assasiné. malheur a un Espagnol qui insulterait un sauvage; le gouvernement le punirait avec la derniere severité comme aussi si un Sauvage insultait un Espagnol, sa nation en ferait desuite justice. voila la force du traité fait entre eux et le Gouvernement espagnol, qui assure la tranquillité et la prosperité des habitans de la Louysiane. On peut affirmer que sans cette convention, les espagnols auraient été contraints d'abandonner cet empire.

aprés avoir traversé le lac qui peut avoir quinze lieus de long on entre dans la riviere du Rivolai. on n'y trouve a droite et a gauche aucune habitation. les forets immenses qui couvrent Ses bords sont remplies d'eau.

Aprés avoir navigé une douzaine de lieues dans cette riviere, on entre ensuite dans la mer du nord qu'on est obligé de cotoyer pendant vingt lieues. aprés ce trajet

to protect them, and to aid them in case of need. Those who live near Louisiana pursue the same course toward the governor, where on each side the treaty is fully executed.[69]

The agents of the king of Spain by this conduct toward the savage peoples, keep the property of the inhabitants of the country, as well as their persons, safe from all harm. They got this wise and politic method of treatment from the agents of the king of France, when Louisiana belonged to the latter.

The French government by this conduct toward the savages, learned thoroughly to appreciate their forces, their skill, their courage, and their population. A score of times has the Spanish government tried to violate the treaty which binds those nations. A score of times has it been conquered; and the proprietors living far away from New Orleans have been pillaged, devastated, and murdered. Ill betide the Spaniard who would insult a savage! The government would punish him with the utmost rigor. In the same way if a savage insulted a Spaniard, the former's nation would immediately do justice on him. Such is the force of the treaty made between the savages and the Spanish government, which assures the tranquility and prosperity of the inhabitants of Louisiana. It may be asserted that were it not for that treaty, the Spaniards would have been forced to abandon that empire.

After crossing the lake,[70] which is about fifteen leagues long, one enters the river of Rivolai.[71] No habitations are found on either its right or left bank, and the immense forests which cover its edges are full of water.

After traveling a dozen leagues by that river, the traveler comes out into the sea of the north,[72] the shore of which must be coasted along for twenty leagues. That

on entre dans la riviere de la moville, ou on trouve dés son embouchure un fort commandé par un officier et quarente soldats; un bourg ou demeure environ soixante habitans qui s'occupent avec leurs esclaves a faire du godron, de la braie et du charbon; a planter beaucoup de vivres, un curé un eglise et un commandant. ces habitans font le commerce des pelletries. leur femme elevent beaucoup de volailles et de cochons. ils ont des troupeaux de vaches avec les quelles ils font du boeur et du fromage. leur maniere de vivre est a peu prés la même que celle de ceux des bords du lac.

en sortant de la moville, on entre dans la mer qui est remplie de petites isles. deux seulement sont habitées par des pecheurs.

aprés avoir navigé environ huit lieues, on decouvre dans une ance au bord de la mer la petite jolie ville de pensacole. ses rues sont trés bien entretenues, et on ne voit point comme a la nouvel orleans des trous remplis d'une eau infecte et pourie. sa population est de mil ames. il y a deux forts sont en bon etat et bien garnis de canons, ils sont gardés par un commandant et trois cents soldats.

La ville de pensacole est la siege d'un gouverneur d'un curé, et d'un magistrat, qui rénd trés bien la justice a ceux qui la reclament. on n'y voit point comme en france d'avocats, de procureurs, et d'huissiers qui rongent et detruisent la fortune des familles. les parties litigieuses se deffendent elles même. ce charmant lieu est le sejour de la paix. le commerce de ses habitans si considerable il y a vingt ans est trés peu de choses aujourdhuy. si ce n'etait une terre jaune que l'on prend en cet endroit que des batimens transportent a la nouvel orleans qui par la beauté de sa couleur sert a enduire et a decorer les maisons; a peine voirait on dans l'année dix

crossing finished, the traveler enters the river of Mobile, at the mouth of which are found a fort under command of an officer with forty soldiers, a hamlet or settlement of about sixty inhabitants – who with their slaves are occupied in making pitch, resin, and charcoal, and in planting many kinds of food – a priest, a church, and a commandant. Those inhabitants trade in pelts. Their women raise many fowls and hogs. They possess herds of cattle, from whose milk they make butter and cheese. Their manner of living is about the same as that of those living on the shores of the lake.

On leaving Mobile,[73] the traveler enters the sea which is full of small islets, of which only two are inhabited by fishermen.

After a voyage of about eight leagues, the traveler discovers in a bay at the edge of the sea, the pretty little city of Pensacola.[74] Its streets are excellently kept up, and holes filled with infectious and putrid water are not to be seen as at New Orleans. It has a population of one thousand souls. There are two forts in good condition and well supplied with cannon. They are guarded by a commandant and three hundred soldiers.

The city of Pensacola is the seat of a governor, a priest, and a magistrate, the latter of whom renders thorough justice to those who claim it. Lawyers, solicitors, and bailiffs, who gnaw and destroy the fortunes of families are not to be seen there as in France. The litigious parties defend themselves. That charming place is the abode of peace. The trade of its inhabitants so considerable twenty years ago, is very scant nowadays. Were it not for a yellow earth, which is found in that place, and which ships transport to New Orleans, which is used to coat and decorate the houses because of the beauty of its color, scarce ten ships a year would be seen

batimens dans sa rade. les terres des environs de la ville sont sabloneuses et ne produisent presque rien. les vivres et les loyers de maison sont a trés bon marché. l'air y est si bon et si sain que ses habitans ne sont presque jamais malades et qu'ils vivent trés long tems. ils n'eprouvent point de ces maladies enfantées par le libertinage. le mariage y est honoré. on n'y trouve que trés peu de gens de couleur. les medecins n'y font point fortuné, aussi il n'est pas rare d'y trouver des viellards de quatre vingt a quatre vingt dix ans.

a quarante lieues plus loin en remontant la riviere des apalaches, il est une petite ville batie sur ses bords portante son nom ou sont construite environ deux cents maisons dont une grande partie est occupée par des marchands. il y a un fort gardé par un commandant et cent soldats. la terre de cette province est fort basse et en partie couverte d'eau. ses habitans font peu de culture et ils ne sement que ce dont ils ont absolument besoin pour vivre. ils font un trés grand commerce sur les pelletries avec les mascou leurs voisins, peuple sauvage qui recoivent en exchange du tafia, des fusils, de la poudre, du plom et autres marchandises a leurs usages.

ces peuples sont bons et humains. ils recoivent les voyageurs avec amitié. ils adorent le soleil qu'ils regardent comme le seul dieu de l'univers. leur seul et unique travail est la chasse. leur femmes labourent la terre plantent et recoltent toutes les productions qui servent a leur nouriture. en general chez tous les sauvages de l'amerique ce sont les femmes qui travaillent.

Les grandes forets qui avoisinent ses peuples n'etant habitées que par des ourses, des tigres, des chevreuils, des ecureuils, de fort beaux et rares oiseaux qu'on appelle pape, cardinal, eveque, parceque leur plumages

in its roadway. The lands about the city are sandy and produce almost nothing. Food and rent are very cheap. The air there is so good and so healthful that the inhabitants are almost never sick and live to an advanced age. They experience none of those maladies due to libertinage. Marriage is honored there. Very few people of color are found in that city. Physicians make no fortune there, as it is by no means rare to find old gentlemen of eighty or ninety.

Forty leagues farther, as one ascends the river Apalaches[75] is a small city built on the shores of the river and bearing its name. About two hundred houses, a great number of which are occupied by merchants, have been built there. It has a fort guarded by a commandant and one hundred soldiers. The land of that province is very low and partly covered with water. Its inhabitants engage but little in agriculture and plant only what they absolutely need for living. They have a very heavy trade in pelts with the Mascou,[76] their neighbors, a savage nation who receive in exchange taffia, guns, powder, lead, and other merchandise such as they use.

Those people are good and humane. They receive travelers in a friendly manner. They adore the sun which they regard as the only god of the universe. Their only one occupation is the chase. Their women cultivate the ground, and plant and harvest all the products which they use as food. In general among all the savages of America, it is the women who do the work.

Since the great forests which surround those peoples are inhabited only by bears, tigers, deer, squirrels, many beautiful and rare birds, called pope, cardinal, and bishop,[77] because their plumages are the color of the

sont de la couleur des habits de ces princes de l'eglise catholique. les voyageurs ne trouvant aucune route pour parcourir ces forets immenses, sont obligés de revenir a la nouvel orleans, afin de pouvoir, en remontant le fleuve jusques a la riviere de missouri qui est la limite et la fin de la Louysiane donner une description juste de cet empire.

en sortant de la nouvelle orleans par la post St Louis pour remonter le fleuve la premiere paroisse ou quartier que l'on trouve est celle des glesets rouge, eloignée d'environ six lieues, celle de la côté des allemands de neuf lieues. celle de bonnet carret de seize lieues et celle de Canterelle de vingt cinq. ces quatre communes sont chacune un curé et un commandant elle sont assez peuplée. les habitans sont tres laborieux, fort sobres et trés menagés. peu d'entre eux sont mariés. presque tous vivent avec leurs esclaves ou des femmes de couleur. ils cultivent trés bien leur terre. ils recoltent du sucre, de l'indigo, du coton, du ri, du mahi et beaucoup de legumes. les patates qu'ils retirent de la terre sont trés bonnes. les melons qu'ils ceuillent sont trés bons et d'un bon gout. ils ont un parfum exquis. Leur jardins potagers sont remplis d'arbres a fruit qu'ils recoltent, dés le mois de juillet. ils ne peuvent garder ces fruits plus de trois mois. ils ne sont pas trés bons au gout. les oranges qu'ils recoltent sont delicieuses. leur basse coure est remplie de cochons, de vaches et de volailles de toute espece. si ces habitans avaient en leur disposition plus de cultivateurs ils deviendrait en peu de tems trés riches. ce qui est une verité incontestable, c'est que dans ces campagnes il n'y existe pas un Seul pauvre. au lieu que dans la ville il y en a beaucoup. il faut esperer pour le bonbeur de l'humanité que le gouvernement americain portera un remede salutaire a un aussi grand mal.

habits of those princes of the Catholic Church; and since travelers do not find any road by which to go among those vast forests: they are obliged to return to New Orleans in order that they may be able by ascending to the Missouri River – the boundary and end of Louisiana – to give an exact description of that empire.

As the traveler leaves New Orleans by the gate St. Louis, to ascend the river, the first parish or quarter which he finds is that of Glesets Rouges,[78] about six leagues away; that of the Côte des Allemands[79] nine leagues away; that of Bonnet Carret,[80] sixteen leagues; and that of Canterelle,[81] twenty-five. Each of those four communities has a priest and a commandant. They are well populated. Their inhabitants are very industrious, very sober, and very economical. Few of them are married. Almost all of them live with their slaves or with women of color. They cultivate their fields excellently. They raise sugar, indigo, cotton, rice, maize, and many vegetables. The potatoes which they take from the earth are very good. The melons gathered by them are fine, and have an excellent taste and an exquisite perfume. Their kitchen gardens are full of fruit trees, the fruit of which they gather from the month of July. They do not keep their fruit more than three months, and the fruits are not very good to the taste. The oranges which they gather are delicious. Their barnyards are full of hogs, cattle, and fowls of all kinds. If those inhabitants had more hands at their disposal, they would become very rich in a short time. It is an incontestable fact that not a single poor man is to be found in that country, while in the city there are many of them. It is to be hoped for the good of humanity that the American government will apply a salutary remedy to so great an evil.

ce qui est encore une verité incontestable, c'est qu'a la nouvel orleans il y a beaucoup d'hommes qui, au lieu de s'occuper, ne vivent que dans la debauche, et n'ayant pas de moyens suffisans pour contenter leur caprice et leur passions, ils volent et quelquefois tuent et assasinent. au lieu qu'a la campagne, il n'y arrive jamais aucun de ces malheurs a moins que les maitres ne provoquent leurs esclaves a se conduire ainsi par les mauvais traitemens qu'ils leur font essuyer.

un arreté du gouvernement espagnol qui deffend aux habitans de la Louysiane l'introduction des esclaves depuis le commencement des troubles de St domingue a entierement paralisé les progrés de l'agriculture seule et unique ressource de l'abondance et des richesses. plusieurs habitans Lors qu'ils ont vu le prefet Laussat arriver a la nouvel orleans, ne voulant pas vivre sous le gouvernement francais ont vendu a des prix considerables leurs esclaves. plusieurs centaine de negres ont été vendus la piece jusqu'a sept a huit cent piastres.

quelques negotians de la havane qui en ont faits passer secretement les ont vendu la piece jusques a trois mille francs tournois. quoiqu'ils fussent nouvellement arrivés de la côte d'afrique. cependant ils ne se vendaient a la havane que quinze a dixhuit cent francs.

L'on trouve a cinq lieues plus loin le bourg de la fourche bati sur les bords du fleuve, prés d'une riviere qui porte son nom. ses habitans au nombre de trois cents font un trés grand commerce sur les pelletries. les voyageurs y trouvent de bonnes auberges et les habitans des magasins pour y deposer leur marchandises et denrées. ceux des provinces d'acatapa et d'apelouça y font descendre par eau les leurs qui consistent en indigo en coton et dans toutes les autres denrées dont j'ai deja donné la description.

It is also an incontestable truth that there are many men at New Orleans who, instead of working live in continual debauch, and who, since they do not possess sufficient means to satisfy their fancy and their passions, rob and sometimes kill and murder. On the other hand, none of those evils ever happens in the country unless masters provoke their slaves and compel them to act so because of the bad treatment they make them undergo.

A decree of the Spanish government, forbidding the inhabitants of Louisiana to bring in slaves since the beginning of the troubles in San Domingo, has entirely paralysed the progress of agriculture, the one single resource of abundance and riches.[82] Several inhabitants upon the arrival of Prefect Laussat at New Orleans sold their slaves at a considerable price, as they did not wish to live under the French government. Some hundreds of negroes have been sold for as much as seven or eight hundred piastres apiece.

Several merchants of Havana who have sent negroes over secretly, have sold them for three thousand francs tournois apiece. Although but newly arrived from the shores of Africa, yet they were sold at Havana only for from fifteen to eighteen hundred francs.

Five leagues farther is met the hamlet of La Fourche[83] [i.e., the Fork] located on the banks of the river near a river which bears its name. Its inhabitants, to the number of three hundred, have a heavy trade in pelts. Travelers find good inns there, and the inhabitants stores in which to keep their merchandise and products. The inhabitants of the provinces of Attakapas [*Acatapa*][84] and Opelousas [*Apelouça*][85] send their products down thither by water. These consist of indigo, cotton, and all the other products which I have already described.

Ces provinces eloignées de la capitale de quatre vingt lieues ont chacunes un bourg assez considerable et bien peuple batis sur les bords de la riviere, un curé et un commandant de quartier. comme ces provinces sont a l'abri de toute incursion, ces habitans n'ont pas besoin de la force militaire pour les deffendre. le commerce qu'ils font avec ceux de la forche et les negociants de la nouvel orleans, leur produit beaucoup d'argent. plusieurs d'entre eux ont etabli des manufactures en toiles de coton et d'assez belles tanneries. ils acheptent a si bon marché les cotons et les peaux de boeufs qu'ils vendent leur toiles et leur peaux toutes fabriquées a bien meilleur marché que celles que les armateurs d'europe envoyent a la nouvel orleans.

Les habitans des campagnes ont dans leur vastes et excellentes prairies d'innombrables troupeaux de boeufs et de vaches qu'ils ne vendent que cinquante francs la paire aux bouchers de la nouvel orleans, qui viennent y faire leur empletes, et qui a travers des forets et des chemins tres difficiles, les conduisent dans leur mauvaises prairies. ce qui fait que ces animaux maigrissent a un tel point que souvent avant de les tuer, ils en perdent plus du tiers. cependant il serait bien facile a ces marchands de les tenir en bon etat et de fournir a longue année au consommateur de bonnes viandes. il faut en verité convenir que l'industrie est encore dans le plus tendre enfance.

il faut convenir que le commerce s'y fait, trés bien, et que si la culture et l'industrie rurale etaient au meme point, la culture serait beaucoup plus lucrative que le commerce, parceque les terres en general y sont tres bonnes, et d'un trés grand produit.

Les terres et les excellentes prairies que l'on peut assimiler pour la bonté aux meilleures herbes de france sont a l'abri des innondations.

Those provinces [mentioned above], which are eighty leagues from the capital, have each a fairly-sized hamlet and many people who have built along the shores of the river, a priest, and a district commandant. Since those provinces are quite sheltered from any raids, those inhabitants need no soldiers to defend them. Their trade with the inhabitants of La Fourche and the merchants of New Orleans brings them in much money. Several of them have established cotton cloth mills and very fine tanneries. They buy cotton and the hides of cattle so cheaply that they sell their cloth and their hides, all worked, at much lower prices than those sent from Europe to New Orleans by the exporters.

The inhabitants of the country possess great herds of bulls and cows in their vast and excellent meadows, which they sell at only fifty francs a pair to the butchers of New Orleans. The latter go to buy them there and drive them through forests and along very difficult roads into their poor meadows, so that those animals become so thin that often before being killed they have lost more than a third of their weight. Yet it would be very easy for those merchants to keep them in good condition and to furnish consumers with good meat throughout the year. It must, indeed, be confessed, that the industry is still in its very tender infancy.

It must be confessed that trade is in an excellent condition there, and that if agriculture and agricultural pursuits were equally developed, agriculture would be much more lucrative than trade, for the lands in general are excellent and yield exceedingly well.

The lands and the excellent meadows which can be compared in goodness to the best grass in France are protected from inundation.

a dix lieues plus loin, en remontant le fleuve, est la côté de manchac, ou il y a un curé et un commandant de quartier. cette paroisse est assez bien peuplée. ses habitans y recoltent beaucoup d'indigo et de coton. ils ceuillent egalement du mahi et de fort bons legumes. presque tous ses habitans ont des troupeaux de moutons, de cochons, de vaches, de chevres, et de toutes sortes de volailles dans leurs basses coures. tous ces habitans a l'exception du pain et du vin prennent sur leurs habitations ce dont ils ont besoin pour vivre. ils ne manquent a ces proprietaires que des gens instruits dans la culture et dans l'education des bestiaux. s'ils possedaient ces talens, et que le gouvernement protegeait entierement la culture, il leur faudrait trés peu d'année pour jouir d'une grande aisance.

aprés avoir quitté la côte de manchac, et avoir fait dix lieues, L'on arrive au fort du baton rouge gardé par un officier et soixante soldats. il y a un bourg ou l'on y compte une soixantaine de maisons, un curé et un commandant de quartier. ses habitans recoltent de l'indigo du coton et toutes sortes de legumes. ils conduisent leurs habitations et leurs travaux de la meme maniere que ceux dont j'ai parlé.

aprés avoir encore fait dix lieues, l'on arrive au bourg de la pointe coupée. Ses habitans sont trés riches et font des recoltes abondantes en indigo et en coton. les terres de ces quartier sont elevées et trés bonnes. cet endroit est remarquable par les evenemens qui y sont arrivés, lors des troubles de St domingue.

un habitant de la nouvel orleans si connu a jeremie isle de St domingue par ses assasinats, les vols, les devastations se rendit par les etats unis, la belle riviere et le missisipi a la pointe coupée. comme cet endroit est plus peuplé en esclaves que partout ailleurs, esperant

Ten leagues farther up the river is the Côte de Manchac,[86] where there are a priest and a district commandant. That parish is quite well populated. Its inhabitants harvest quantities of indigo and cotton. They also raise maize and excellent vegetables. Nearly all its inhabitants have flocks of sheep, droves of hogs, and herds of cattle, goats and all sorts of fowls in their barnyards. All those inhabitants, with the exception of bread and wine, raise on their own plantations what they need for sustenance. Those proprietors lack only hands who understand farming and how to take care of animals. If they possessed those talents, and if the government thoroughly protected agriculture, a few years only would be needed for them to enjoy great ease.

After having left Côte de Manchac a distance of ten leagues, the traveler reaches the fort of Baton Rouge[87] which is guarded by an officer and sixty soldiers. There is a hamlet where one can find three score houses, a priest, and a district commandant. Its inhabitants raise indigo, cotton, and all sorts of vegetables. They conduct their plantations and their labors in the same manner as those of whom I have spoken.

After having traveled ten leagues more, the traveler reaches the hamlet of La Pointe Coupée.[88] Its inhabitants are very rich and gather abundant harvests of indigo and cotton. The lands of those districts are high and excellent. That place is remarkable for what happened there at the time of the troubles in San Domingo.

An inhabitant of New Orleans, well known at Jeremie, in the island of San Domingo, because of the murders, thefts, and ruin which he had wrought, went by way of the United States, the Belle Rivière, and the Mississippi to La Pointe Coupée. As that place is more densely populated by slaves than any other place, and as he hoped

tout boulverser pour s'enricher des depouilles des colons. apres avoir fait connoissance avec quelques hommes noirs, en leur representant combien etaient heureux ceux de St dominigue, il les decida a s'insurger. si le gouvernement Espagnol instruit a tems de ces mouvemens orageux, n'avait pas, au moyen de la troupe qu'il envoya, retabli l'ordre, en faisant pendre une soixantaine des insurgés. les colons etaient perdu sans ressource le chef de cette insurrection voyant son coup manqué s'enfuit aux etats unis, et les negres abandonnés et delaissés par ce scelerat rentrerent sur les habitations. cet example severe retablit entierement la tranquillité dans ce grand et riche quartier.

Le bourg de la pointe coupée est la demeure d'un curé et d'un commandant de quartier. l'abondance de toutes les marchandises que l'on y trouve annonce que cet endroit est excellent pour le commerce. les esclaves y sont bien mieux nouris et mieux vetus, que partout ailleurs. quand on considere que les proprietaires des environs de la nouvel orleans ne donnent par chaque mois a leurs esclaves pour toute nouriture qu'un baril de mahi en paille, l'on est surpris que ces malheureux puissent resister à un travail aussi penible que celui qu'ils font, et comment le gouvernement peut souffrir une barbarie aussi atroce. C'est a lui seul qu'appartient le droit de reprimir les grands abus qui amenent quelquefois la chute des empires. les maîtres des esclaves pretendent que, les ayant achepté, ils peuvent en faire ce qu'ils jugent a propos. ce raisonnement est d'une monstruosité epouvantable – encore une fois le gouvernement qui doit embrasser tout ce qui compose l'empire, doit et est obligé de veiller a sa conservation.

il en est bien autrement a la pointe coupeé, les proprietaires abandonnent a leurs esclaves de la terre qu'ils

to overturn everything, in order to enrich himself from the spoils of the cotton plantations, after he had made acquaintance with some black men and had represented to them how happy those of San Domingo were, he persuaded them to revolt. Had not the Spanish government, having learned in time of those stormy movements, reëstablished order by means of the troops who were sent thither, with a loss of three score insurgents, the colonists would have been irretrievably lost. The leader of that insurrection, finding that his attempt had miscarried, fled to the United States, and the negroes abandoned and deserted by that rascal returned to the plantations. That severe example entirely reëstablished tranquillity in that large and rich district.

The hamlet of La Pointe Coupée is the residence of a priest and of a district commander. The plenty of all kinds of merchandise which is found there announce that that is an excellent place for trade. Slaves are much better fed and clothed there than anywhere else. When one considers that the proprietors in the neighborhood of New Orleans give their slaves each month for all their food only one barrel of maize in the husk, he is surprised that those unhappy wretches can resist work so toilsome as that they do, and how the government can suffer so atrocious a barbarism. It is to the government alone that belongs the right of restraining the great abuses which sometimes lead to the fall of empires. The masters of the slaves claim that they can do what they wish since they have bought them. Such reasoning is a frightful monstrosity. Yet again, I say, the government which ought to embrace everything which composes the empire, ought and is obliged to watch over its preservation.

It is quite otherwise at La Pointe Coupée: the proprietors abandon the land to their slaves. The latter

cultivent pour leur compte, et dans la quelle ils ceuillent de quoi se nourir. ils elevent encore et engraissent des cochons et des volailles qu'ils vendent pour leur compte, ce qui fait que ces malheureux supportent leur joug avec plus de force.

il est des habitans dans ce quartier qui recoltent tous les ans plus de cent milliers de coton. Le colon poidras dont la fortune est sans contredit la plus considerable de la Louysiane traite ses esclaves avec beaucoup d'humanité et de douceur. aussi tous ces hommes ont pour lui autant de veneration et autant de respect que, s'il etait leur pére. il serait a propos que tous les proprietaires qui traitent si mal les leur, fissent, avant que d'en posseder, un apprentisage de quelques années chez lui; ils y apprendraient avec succes la maniere de les faire travailler, de les nourir et de les encourager. jamais l'on entend dans son habitation le fouet claquer. aucun de ses esclaves n'en porte les marques. dans le tems de la rocolte de ses cotons, ils savent ce qu'ils doivent ramasser, et ils le font. ce qu'ils recoltent en sus, leur bon maître le leur paye par leur accoustrements, lorsqu'ils vont au travail, on croirait que tous ces cultivateurs vont cultiver leur propre champs, tant ils y vont de bon coeur.

Lors de l'insurrection qui eclata dans ce riche quartier, ceux du philosophe poidras resterent tranquils. ce bon et humain proprietaire fut denoncé au gouverneur General, comme chef de parti, par un scelerat qui esperait s'enrichir de ses depouilles; en consequence il donna des ordres pour le faire arreter. mais ses esclaves instruits a temps de cette persecution extravaguante, le cacherent quelque tems, et peu de jours aprés il s'en fuit aux etats unis ou il y a vecu quelques années dans la paix et la tranquillité.

de retour dans son habitation il a trouvé ses maga-

cultivate it at their own account, and get their food from it. They also raise and fatten hogs and fowls which they sell on their own account. Consequently, those unhappy beings endure their yoke with more fortitude.

Some of the inhabitants of that region harvest more than a hundred thousand [pounds?] of cotton annually. The colonist Poidras, whose fortune is beyond contradiction the most considerable of Louisiana treats his slaves very humanely and mildly. Hence, all those men have as much veneration and respect for him as if he were their father. It would be well for all proprietors, who treat their slaves so cruelly, to serve an apprenticeship with him for some years before owning any. They would learn from him the successful method of getting them to work, of feeding them, and of encouraging them. Never is the swing of the lash heard on his plantation. Not one of his slaves bears the mark of it. At the time of the cotton picking, they know what they ought to gather, and they do it. All over and above that amount, their good master pays them for their accoutrement. When they go to work, one would believe that all those cultivators are going to work their own fields, so cheerfully do they go.

At the time of the insurrection which broke out in that rich region, the slaves of the philosopher Poidras remained quiet. That good and humane proprietor was denounced to the governor general as chief leader of the party by a rascal who hoped to enrich himself by despoiling him. Consequently the governor general ordered the arrest of Poidras. But his slaves, having learned of that heinous persecution in time, hid him for a period, and shortly afterward he fled to the United States where he has now lived for some years in peace and quiet.

On his return he found on his plantation his barns full

sins remplis de cotons et d'indigo, ses jardins en aussi bon etat qu'il les avait laissé lors de son depart. ses esclaves, en le revoyant, ont arrosé de leurs larmes ses pieds.

quelle difference L'homme sensible vertueux et honnete ne doit il pas faire de poidras, a un de ses voisins qui maltraitait tous les jours un de ses esclaves. le desespoir s'empara un jour de ce malheureux avant un fusil chargé a la main, il monta dans la chambre de son maître pendant le tems qu'il soupait, et en lui reprochant ses cruautés envers lui, il le coucha un joug, et il le tua. aussitot ce malheureux s'en fuit dans sa case, ferma sa porte et se pendit. Ce n'est pas le seul quartier dans la Louysiane ou de pareils evenemens sont arrivés. encore une fois, quoi qu'en disent les colons, si le gouvernement le voulait, tous ces crimes ne se commetraient pas.

Si tous les esclaves qui sont a la Louysiane etaient traités comme ceux de poidras, les maitres seraient au milieu d'eux autant en sureté que des péres de famille le sont au milieu de leurs enfans. leurs maîtres couleraient des jours sereins et delicieux sur leurs habitations. pourquoi les proprietaires ne veulent ils pas considerer de pres l'etat infortuné de ces hommes condamnés a cause de leur couleur, a passer sur la terre leurs jours dans des tourmens continuels; pourquoi, lorsqu'ils n'en ont point en propriéte, les plaignent ils tant. pourquoi, lorsqu'ils en possedent, les maltraitent ils avec tant d'inhumanité. ô gouvernement! c'est a toi, oui a toi seul, par ta surveillance d'adoucir les peines de ces infortunés, qui par le moyen de leur sueur dont ils arrosent continuelement la terre, la font fructifier, au point que ce qui en provient, enrichit les cités, les embelit, et donne ce lustre au commerce qu'il n'aurait pas sans eux.

a quarente lieues plus loin de la pointe coupée, l'on voit en face du Natchée le petit fort de la concorde

of cotton and indigo, and his gardens in as good condition as he left them when he went away. His slaves on beholding him again, shed tears at his feet.[89]

What a difference must the sensible, virtuous, and honest man find between Poidras and one of the latter's neighbors who maltreated his slaves daily! Despair seized one of those miserable wretches one day when he had a loaded gun in his hand. He went up to his master's room while he was supping, and after reproaching him for his cruelty toward him, shot and killed him. Then immediately that miserable wretch fled to his own cabin, locked the door and hanged himself. That is not the only district in Louisiana where such events have occurred. Again, whatever the colonists say, if the government wish it, all such crimes would not be committed.

If all the slaves of Louisiana were treated like those of Poidras, their masters would be as safe among them as fathers among their children. Their masters would pass a quiet and delightful life on their plantations. Why will not proprietors consider deeply the unfortunate condition of those men condemned to pass their life in this world in continual torment because of their color? Why do they complain of them so much when they have nothing properly for which to complain? Why since they own them do they treat their slaves so inhumanly? O Government! it is for thee, yes, for thee alone, to soften by thy surveillance the pains of those unfortunate beings, who by their sweat with which they continually water the earth, make it bring forth so abundantly that it enriches cities, embellishes them, and gives that luster to trade which it would not have but for them.

Forty leagues beyond Pointe Coupée, the traveler beholds opposite Natchez, the small fort of Concordia,[90]

gardé par un officier et vingt cinq Soldats. il est bati sur les bords de la riviere rouge.

c'est dans les provinces qu'arrose cette riviere que le voyageur contemple aves plaisir son solle. c'est encore dans ces immenses forets que l'intrepide chasseur s'enrichit des depouilles des ourses, des chevreuils, des boeufs sauvages et enfin de d'autres animaux. ce vaste pays qui offre de grandes ressources, est trés peu peuplé. le premier endroit que l'on y voit, est le bourg des aboyelles habité par quelques particuliers qui ne font d'autres cultures que celles dont ils ont besoin pour vivre. les troupeaux de boeufs qu'ils nourissent dans leurs vastes prairies forment leur unique richesse. l'on ne concoit pas pourquoi ces habitans qui ont de si bons paturages ne font pas des eleves en chevaux.

a cinq lieues plus loin sur la meme riviere est le bourg du rapide. une cinquantaine d'habitans forme sa population. ils font le commerce de boeufs et de fromage. ils ne s'occupent a l'agriculture que pour se procurer ce dont ils ont besoin pour vivre. ils elevent aussi dans leurs basses coures des cochons et des volailes.

C'est enfin sur cette riviere qu'est la ville du Naguitoche. elle est le chef lieu d'une excellente et delicieuse province. elle est peuplée par cinq cens habitans, et un millier d'autres habitent la campagne. elle est la demeure d'un curé et d'un commandant de quartier qui rend la justice avec zele et paternité a ceux qui la reclament. le commerce d'une partie des habitans de la ville consiste dans les pelletries, les boeufs et les cochons, les fromages; et l'autre partie s'occupe a la chasse. les quantités d'ourses, de chevreuils, de cerfs et des autres betes fauves qui vivent dans les bois et dans ces vastes et belles prairies est un puissant attrait pour ces chasseurs,

which is guarded by an officer and twenty-five soldiers. It is constructed on the bank of the Red River.[91]

In the provinces watered by that river, the traveler contemplates its soil with pleasure. It is also in those immense forests that the intrepid hunter gains wealth from the spoil of the bears, deer, wild cattle, and, in short, from other animals. That vast country which offers great resources is but scantily inhabited. The first hamlet seen by the traveler is that of Aboyelles.[92] That hamlet is inhabited by a few persons, who engage in no other agriculture than that necessary for their sustenance. The herds of cattle which they raise on their vast meadows form their only source of wealth. One can not imagine why these inhabitants who possess such fine pasturage, have not undertaken the rearing of horses.

Five leagues farther by the same river, is the hamlet of Du Rapide [i.e., of the Rapids],[93] whose population consists of half a hundred inhabitants. They trade in cattle and cheese. They engage in agriculture only to the extent necessary for their sustenance. They also rear hogs and fowls in their barnyards.

Finally on that river is located the city of Natchitoches.[94] It is the principal place of an excellent and delightful province. It is the abode of five hundred inhabitants, while a thousand others dwell in the country [round about]. It is the residence of a priest and a district commander who renders zealous and paternal justice to all persons claiming it. The trade of a portion of the inhabitants of the city consists in pelts, cattle, hogs, and cheese; while the other portion is engaged in the chase. Numbers of bears, roe deer, red deer [*cerfs*] and other fallow deer which live in the woods and in those vast and beautiful prairies, form a powerful attraction for these hunters, who gather all told more than

qui en trois ou quatre mois rapportent entre eux plus de vingt mille peaux, ce qui leur donne net a chacun quinze a seize cent francs. la chair de tous ces animaux reste ou ils sont depouillés, et devient la pature des oiseaux de proie et des autres betes carnifores. lors que ces chasseurs partent, ils se mettent une quinzaine ensemble et choisissent un d'entre eux pour faire le manger. cette homme partage comme les autres la depouille des animaux.

Les habitans de la campagne s'occupent particulierement de la culture du tabac si renommé par son bon gout. s'ils avaient plus d'ouvriers, ils pouraient en recolter pour en fournir la france dont ses habitans n'en recoltent pas beaucoup. ils seront dans tout le tems forcés de traiter pour cette partie avec le commerce des etats unis. ainsi il est donc de l'interet de son gouvernement de donner a cette culture une grande extension; attendu qu'il est bien demontré que les terres du Naguitoche produisent d'excellent et trés bon tabac.

Les autres denrées que ces habitans y recoltent, prouvent egalement par leur immense production la bonté de son sol. les forets sont remplies de ceps de vigne qui produisent d'excellens muscats et d'autres raisins delicieux de differentes couleurs, des fruits sauvages, des ciriers des mouches a miel, des muriers sur les feuilles des quelles on trouve des cocous ou sont renfermées les graines des vers a soie, des oliviers sauvages et quantité d'autres arbres a fruit. on y voit des coteaux remplis de noyers prodigieux en grosseur, de superbes chateigniers dont le fruit est a la verité fort petit, mais il est d'un excellent gout. de beaux pataniers qui produisent une espece de gland dont le fruit est bon, doux, et delicat. si ces habitans etaient industrieux ils pouraient avec les fruits des noix et des patanes faire d'excellentes huiles a

twenty thousand skins in three or four months—which gives each one net fifteen or sixteen hundred francs. The flesh of all those animals remains where they have been skinned, and becomes food for birds of prey and other carniverous beasts. When those hunters depart [for the chase], fifteen of them form a party and choose one of their number to look after their eating. That man has an equal share with the others in the skins of the animals.

The inhabitants in the country engage especially in the culture of the tobacco so famed for its good taste. If they had more hands, they could raise enough to supply France, whose inhabitants do not raise much. They will be continually forced to treat for that part with the trade of the United States. Consequently, it is to the interest of the government of the United States to give a careful consideration to that culture, since it has been well demonstrated that the lands of Natchitoches produce excellent and very fine tobacco.

The other products raised there by these inhabitants prove equally well by their abundant yield the richness of its soil. The forests are filled with excellent vines, which yield muscats and other delicious grapes of various colors, wild fruits, wax plants, honey bees, mulberry trees (on the leaves of which are found cocoons in which are enclosed the eggs of the silkworm), wild olives, and a number of other fruit trees. The hills there are seen to be filled with walnut trees of huge growth, with magnificent chestnuts, whose fruit is indeed, very small, but of an excellent taste, with beautiful pecan trees which produce a kind of acorn whose fruit is good, sweet, and delicate. If those inhabitants were industrious, they could make excellent eating oils from the fruit of the

manger. mais, comme je l'ai deja dit, les habitans que s'occupent aux travaux de la campagne, ne sont point susceptibles d'aucune invention.

Les allées des gros et monstrueux arbres, les carreaux qui recoivent les eaux des coteaux qui arrosent les prairies, annoncent au voyageur qui en examinant ces choses surprenantes dans un pays presque inhabité, que le naguitoche a du former autrefois un empire qui, comme tant d'autres, a été boulversé par les revolutions qui s'operent de tems en tems dans le globe.

On peut assurer que la province du Naguitoche reunit elle Seule toutes les productions de la france. la bonté de son sol le surpasse de beaucoup en recolte. on peut y cultiver avec succés les oliviers, les muriers propres a la nouriture des vers a soie. encore une fois il ne tient donc qu'au gouvernement americain, en encourageant par des moyens pecuniaires des ouvriers qui connaissent la partie de la soierie et celle des oliviers de s'en procurer. cette classe si heureuse en france sous le regime ancien est aujourd'huy reduite a la plus profonde des miseres. beaucoup d'entre eux qui, comme tant d'autres sous le regime revolutionaire ont été trompés par des êtres a figure humaine, revetus de grands pouvoirs sont aujourd'huy persecutés. si ces hommes instruits trouvaient des occasions favorables pour porter ailleurs leur talent et leur industrie, ils transporteraient partout ou l'on voudrait leur famille. le gouvernement americain doit prendre en consideration cet objet si important, s'il veut par la suite conserver le numeraire de l'etat. il est de sa politique et de l'interet general de le faire.

en quittant a regret cette delicieuse terre, aprés avoir marché dix lieues, on arrive dans la petite ville du gouet de Chitan ou est un fort gardé par un officier et douze soldats: deux cents habitans forment sa population. ils

nuts and the pecans. But, as I have already remarked, inhabitants who work in the fields are not susceptible to any innovation.

The avenues of huge monstrous trees and the tiles that receive the water from the hills which waters the meadows, announce to the traveler who beholds those surprising things in an almost uninhabited country, that Natchitoches must formerly have formed an empire, which like many others, has been overwhelmed by the revolutions which arise on the globe from time to time.[95]

It may be asserted that the province of Natchitoches reunites in itself all the products of France. The fertility of its soil surpasses that of France greatly in its yield. Olives may be cultivated there with success, as well as mulberries suitable for the raising of silkworms. Again, I say, it is only for the American government, by offering encouragement in pecuniary lines to the workmen who understand the manufacture of silk and the cultivation of olives, to procure them. That class, so happy in France under the old régime, is today reduced to the lowest depth of misery. Many of them, who, as well as others under the revolutionary régime, were deceived by beings in human shape invested with great powers, are today persecuted. If those skilled men found favorable opportunity to carry their talent and industry elsewhere, they would move their families wherever one wished. The American government ought to consider that highly important matter, if it wishes in the future to preserve the coin of the realm. It belongs to its policy and to the general welfare to do it.

On leaving with regret that delicious land, and after a journey of ten leagues, the traveler reaches the little city of Gouet de Chitan,[96] where there is a fort guarded by an officer and twelve soldiers. Two hundred in-

font egalement le commerce des pelletries avec les Sauvages en partie qui occupent les hauteurs de la riviere rouge. ils s'occupent egalement a la culture du coton du mahi et du tabac. ils ceuillent aussi de bons et excellens legumes.

les cadous, Cocinthés, et les panis nations sauvages qui demeurent sur les bords des hauteurs de cette riviere echangent leur pelletries avec ces habitans pour des fusils, de la poudre, du plom, du vermillon, du tafia et pour quelques bijouteries dont ils se decorent le col, les oreilles et le bout du nez. ils recoivent avec humanité tous les voyageurs. ils cherissent beaucoup les habitans du Naguitoche ainsi que ceux du gouet de chitan. ils regard le soleil comme leur seul et unique dieu. ils envoyent tous les ans des deputés a la nouvel Orleans aupres du gouvernement pour chercher les presens qu'il est dans l'usage de leur faire. et ils font en meme tems le serment d'executer le traité. aprés avoir visité ces Sauvages, le voyageur est obligé de retrograder et de regagner le fleuve missisipi, ou il navigue environ cent cinquante lieues, sans trouver de paroisse ny de bourg.

le premier endroit ou il s'arrete, est a la riviere des arcs sur les bords de la quelle est un fort gardé par un officier et vingt Soldats, et une petite ville portante son nom habitée par cent vingt personnes, dont les uns font le commerce des pelletries avec les souvages [*sic*] qui habitent les hauteurs de cette riviere en echange pour des marchandises a leur usage. Les habitans de la campagne font de l'indigo du coton et recoltent ce dont ils ont besoin pour leur nouriture, ils elevent beaucoup de cochons de vaches et de volailles. cet endroit est encore la demeure de quelques chasseurs.

en remontant le fleuve a cent lieues plus loin, on trouve cette charmante riviere connue sous le nom de la belle

habitants form its population. They also trade in pelts with the savages who live in the districts of the bluffs of the Red River. They engaged also in the cultivation of cotton, maize, and tobacco. They also raise good and excellent vegetables.

The Caddoes, Cocinthés, and Panis,[97] savage nations who inhabit the bluffs along the banks of that river, exchange their pelts with those inhabitants for guns, powder, lead, vermilion, taffia, and certain jewelry with which they decorate their necks, ears, and the end of their noses. They receive all travelers humanely. They have a great affection for the inhabitants of Natchitoches as well as those of Gouet de Chitan. They regard the sun as their one and only god. They send deputies annually to New Orleans to the government to get the presents which it is usual to make them. At the same time they take oath to observe the treaty. After having visited those savages, the traveler is obliged to retrace his steps and regain the Mississippi River, on which he must travel for about one hundred and fifty leagues without meeting parish or hamlet.

The first place at which he stops is at the river Arcs[98] on the bank of which is a fort guarded by an officer and twenty soldiers, and a little city bearing its name, inhabited by one hundred and twenty persons. Some of the inhabitants are engaged in the fur trade with the savages who live on the bluffs of that river, giving them in exchange the merchandise to which they are accustomed. The inhabitants of the country raise indigo and cotton, and the food necessary for their sustenance. They rear many hogs, cattle, and fowls. That place is also the abode of a few hunters.

One hundred leagues farther up the river, the traveler comes to that charming river known by the name of the

riviere, qui, comme tant d'autres, paye son tribut de reconnoissance a l'immortel missisipi, en y deposant Ses a eaux limpides. c'est a cet endroit qu'est construit le fort de l'ance a la grece, ou il y a un commandant et cent cinquante Soldats. un bourg habité par une soixantaine de personnes. cet endroit est dautant plus remarquable; c'est que ses habitans sont les premiers sur le fleuve qui s'occupent de la culture du bled. on y voit d'excellentes prairies ou paissent les vaches et les boeufs. Ses habitans nourissent beaucoup de cochons et de volailles. les forets sont remplies de toutes sortes de Gibier et de bètes fauves.

a quelques lieues plus loin est batie la ville de misere qui est en face de celle du Cas pays americain. elle est peuplée par douze cents habitans qui s'occupent particulierement de le culture du froment, et a la chasse. ils possedent des mines de plom dont ils tirent un grand benefice. ils trouvent dans leur forets des ourses d'une grosseur et d'une grandeur prodigieuses. l'huile qu'ils tirent d'elle, est fort recherchée des habitans, meme de ceux de la nouvel Orleans. quoiquelle ait au gout fort acre, ils la prefirent a la mauvaise huile de province. ils recoltent de bons legumes et ils font de trés bon boeur et de bons fromages. quoique cette ville soit assez peuplée et assez riche pour nourir un curé, cependant il ny en a point. et les habitans s'en passent. ils sont gouvernés par un commandant qui termine toujours a l'amiable les contestations qui s'elevent entre eux.

aprés avoir marché encore trente lieues, le voyageur arrive a ce lieu et bon pays connu sous le nom des illinois. c'est dans ce Sejour enchanteur que ces bons habitans exercent avec sensibilité et avec humanité L'hospitalité envers ceux qui s'y presentent; et que la fortune a rejettée de son sein, ou que la persecution a contrainte de

Belle Rivière [i.e., the Ohio] which like so many others, pays its tribute of respect to the immortal Mississippi by giving its limpid waters to it. At that place is built the fort of l'Ance a la Graice,[99] where a commandant and one hundred and fifty soldiers are stationed. There is a hamlet there inhabited by three score persons. That place is so much more remarkable inasmuch as its inhabitants were the first along the river to engage in the cultivation of wheat. Excellent meadows are seen there, on which cows and steers feed. Its inhabitants rear many hogs and fowls. The forests are full of all sorts of game and fallow deer.

Some leagues farther on is built the city of Misere,[100] which is opposite that of Cas[101] on the American side. It is inhabited by twelve hundred people who are especially engaged in the culture of wheat and in the chase. They own lead mines from which they derive great profit. In their forests they find bears prodigiously fat and large, the oil from which is much sought after by the inhabitants, even by those of New Orleans. Although it is very bitter to the taste, it is preferred to the poor oil of Provence. They raise good vegetables, and make excellent butter and cheese. Although that city is large enough and rich enough to support a priest, yet it does not have any, and the inhabitants are dying. They are governed by a commandant who always terminates in a friendly manner the quarrels which rise among them.

After having gone thirty leagues farther, the traveler reaches that place and good country known by the name of Illinois.[102] It is in that enchanting abode that those good inhabitants exercise with kindness and humanity hospitality toward those who present themselves there, and those whom fortune has cast from its bosom, or who have been constrained to flee through persecution. Those

fuir. ces braves habitans leurs prodiguent des secours et ils les aident Sans interet a former des etablissemens.

St Louis la capitale de cette province a un fort gardé par un commandant et cent soldats. il possede dans son enceinte une population de deux mille cinq cents ames, un curé et un gouverneur en second. la ville est d'un tiers moins grande que celle de la Nouvel Orleans. le magistrat qui y rend la justice ne vexe ny ne persecute aucun citoyen. c'est un pére dont les entrailles sont dans tous les tems ouvertes pour ses enfans. la conduite qu'il a tenue envers quelques jeunes gens qui dés le commencement de la revolution francaise se permirent de chanter des chansons patriotiques que les rois ou leurs agens reprouvent, de crainte que les peuples qui sous eux sont dans un profond sommeil, ne se reveillent, furent denoncés au gouverneur general de la nouvel orleans qui donna desuite les ordres les plus severes pour les faire arrêter et pour les lui envoyer, afin de les punir de cet attentat royal. mais ce gouverneur fut trompé dans son attente. les jeunes gens qu'il comptait employer comme forcats dans les mines, en furent quitte pour se retirer aux etats unis ou ils ont chante tant qu'ils ont voulu des chansons patriotiques et ou ils y ont joui d'une grande liberté, en benissant le magistrat qui s'etait refusé de servir l'arbitraire et le despotisme.

Cependant en considerant et en se rappellant le commencement de l'insurrection des noirs de St domingue, il est fort bien demontré que se sont les agens du Roi d'espagne qui ont conduit la machine, en faisant fusiller au fort dauphin sur la place publique douze cents malheureux habitans qui avaient fui de chez eux, et qui sur une proclamation de jean francois le chef des insurgés

fine inhabitants are prodigal of help to them and aid them without any selfish end in view in forming their settlements.

St. Louis,[103] the capital, of that province has a fort guarded by a commandant and one hundred soldiers. In its circumference it has a population of two thousand five hundred souls, a priest, and a lieutenant governor. The city is smaller by a third than the city of New Orleans. The magistrate who renders justice does not molest or persecute any citizen. He is a father whose entrails are at all times open to his children. [Witness] his conduct toward some young people who allowed themselves to sing patriotic songs which the kings or their agents reproved, at the beginning of the French Revolution, lest the people who were in a profound sleep under them would awaken, and were denounced to the governor general of New Orleans. The latter immediately gave the most stringent orders to have them arrested and sent to him in order that he might punish them for that royal crime. But that governor was deceived in his attempt. The young people upon whom he counted to employ as criminals in the mines were given freedom provided they would retire to the United States. There they have sung patriotic songs to their heart's content, and there they have enjoyed a very great liberty, while blessing the magistrate who refused to serve arbitrariness and despotism.

However, when one considers and recalls the commencement of the insurrection of the blacks of San Domingo, it is very well proven that it was the agents of the king of Spain who conducted the machinery of it, by having twelve hundred miserable persons shot at Fort Dauphin on the public square. Those persons had fled to them and by a proclamation of Jean François,[104] the

s'etaient rassemblé de bonne foi sur cette même place, ou tous, sans en excepter un Seul, furent mis a mort. cette action atroce rappelle les assasinats des espagnols au mexique, au potosi, et partout ou ils ont rencontré les pauvres indiens. jean francois soutenu des chefs de la partie espagnole de St domingue a été recompensé d'une maniere eclatante, pour avoir assasiné, volé, violé, et brulé un brevet de lieutenant general des armées de sa majesté catholique et une pension de vingt mil piastres par chaque année avec invitation de passer en espagne en a été le resultat en tracant par ecrit un pareil tableau la plume tombe des mains. il faut esperer que tot ou tard des hommes patriotes et courageux vengeront de tels attentats.

Les habitans de la ville de St louis semblambles a ces anciens patriarches simples et unis ne vivent point dans la debauche, comme font une partie de ceux de la nouvel orleans. le mariage y est honoré, et les enfans qui en proviennent, partagent les successions de leurs parens sans contestation. jamais l'interet qui divise les familles en france et même en europe, ne les a desunis. on ny voit point ces sangs sues connues sous les noms d'huissiers, d'avocats et de procureurs. il ny a aucuns impots arbitraires, et l'air que les habitans y respirent est fort bon et trés sain. ils sont sobres et ils ne sont point sujets a ces maladies de communication si affligeantes pour l'espece humaine. jamais les eaux ne croupissent dans ses rues, jamais ils n'y passe d'epidemie et ces braves gens vivent dans leur viellesse sans douleur ny tourment, et jouissent d'une santé parfaite. ils recoltent beaucoup de froment et de menus grains; ils cultivent avec un grand Succés le tabac. ils retirent de trés grands benefices de leur mine de plom. ils engraissent dans leur

leader of the insurgents, they had reassembled at that said place, where all, without a single exception, were killed. That atrocious act recalls the assassinations of the Spaniards in Mexico, in Potosi, and wherever they have found the poor Indians. Jean François, sustained by the leaders of the Spanish faction of San Domingo, has been recompensed in a striking manner for having assassinated, robbed, violated, and burned. The office of lieutenant general by brevet of the armies of his Catholic Majesty and a pension of twenty thousand piastres annually with an invitation to go to Spain has been the result of it. In setting down in writing such a picture, my pen falls from my hands. Let us hope that sooner or later patriotic and courageous men will avenge such crimes.

The inhabitants of the city of St. Louis like those old time simple and united patriarchs do not live at all in debauchery as do a part of those of New Orleans. Marriage is honored there and the children resulting from it share the inheritance of their parents without any quarreling. Never does that self interest which divides families in France, and even in [other parts of] Europe, disunite them. None of those blood-suckers known under the names of bailiffs, lawyers, and solicitors are seen there. There are no arbitrary imposts, and the air that those inhabitants breathe there is very good and healthy. They are sober and not subject to those diseases of contact so afflicting to the human species. Never does the water lie on their streets; never does an epidemic visit them; and those fine people live without pain or torment in their old age and enjoy perfect health.[105] They raise much wheat and small grains. They cultivate tobacco with great success. They derive enormous profits from their lead mines. They fatten cattle and sheep on their

prairie des boeufs et des moutons. ils y elevent d'assez bons chevaux. on n'y voit point comme a la nouvel orleans ces grandes et vastes pleines, ces terres basses et marecageuses, mais bien de superbes coteaux et d'agreable valons, remplis d'arbres et de ceps de vigne dont le raissin couronne le fait des plus hautes branches. il y a quelques années que des habitans en ramasserent, et qu'ils en firent d'assez bon vin. d'aprés cet essai, si on cultivait la vigne dans la province des illinois, comme on le fait a Bordeaux, on pourait par la suite y faire de trés bon vin. et peut etre dans une douzaine d'années on approvisionerait de cette bonne liqueur toute la Louysiane et meme les etats unis.

on trouve dans ses vastes forets des troupeaux de boeufs sauvages qui pesent jusqu'a quinze cents la piece. ils sont encore remarquables par la bosse qu'ils ont Sur le dos et par leur chair si exquise au gout, des ourses d'une grandeur et d'une grosseur enorme dont les jambons sont meilleurs que celle du cochon, et dont la graisse est si recherchée. beaucoup de perdrix, des especes de lievre, des canards, et enfin de tous les autres animaux qui habitent les bois. on y mange de bon poisson et de bon gibier d'eau. la nouriture des habitans y est a grand marché. L'on peut considerer St Louis comme un des meilleurs endroits du globe.

Le commerce des pelletries est trés considerable et fort lucratif. quoique l'on compte de St Louis a la Nouvel orleans cinq cents lieues de distance, cependant lors que le fleuve est haut, il ne faut que vingt jours pour s'y rendre. aussi les negocians profitent ils de ce tems pour faire l'envoi de leur farine, de leur plom de leur pelletrie de leur tabac de leur Salaisons et enfin de tous les objets differens qu'ils echangent pour de la clincaillerie, de la draperie, de la mercerie, de la chapellerie,

meadows, where they also raise excellent horses.[106] Those great vast plains and those low swampy lands, such as are seen at New Orleans, are not found there, but instead magnificent hills and pleasant valleys, full of trees and the vines of which the grape crowns the highest branches. Some years ago the inhabitants gathered the grapes and made excellent wine from them. In view of that trial, if the vine were to be cultivated in the province of Illinois as is done at Bordeaux, very good wine could be made there in the future. And perhaps within a dozen years they could supply all Louisiana and even the United States with that good liquor.[107]

In those vast forests are found herds of wild cattle which weigh as high as fifteen hundred weight apiece. They are also remarkable for the hump which they bear on their back, and for their flesh which is so delicious to the taste. [Those forests also contain] bears of enormous size and very fat, the hams of which are better than those of the hog, and whose grease is much sought after. [There are] many partridges, various kinds of hares, ducks, and in short, all the other animals that live in the woods. They have good fish and good water game to eat there. The food of the inhabitants is very cheap. St. Louis may be considered as one of the best places on the globe.

The fur trade is very considerable and very lucrative. Although it is reckoned as five hundred leagues from St. Louis to New Orleans, yet with the river high, it only takes twenty days to reach the latter place. Consequently, the merchants take advantage of that season to send for their flour, lead, pelts, tobacco, and salt provisions, and, in fine, for all the various things which they exchange for their hardware, cloth, haberdashery, hats,

de l'epicirie, des armes a feu, du rouge et de la poudre. pour remonter par le fleuve leur marchandise a St louis, ils mettent ordinairement trois mois.

enfin aprés avoir encore marché quinze lieues, on arrive a l'entrée de la riviere du missouri qui est la fin des limites de l'empire de la Louysiane, sur la quelle on trouve la poste du petit côte garde par un officier et cinquante soldats, une petite ville dont la population est de deux a trois cents habitans qui font le commerce des pelletries avec les differentes nations sauvages qui habitent les hauteurs de cette riviere et qui recoltent les mêmes denrées qu'a St louis.

Ces bons et courageux habitans eloignés de toutes les factions et eloignés de la perfidie et de la tirannie, s'occupent au Sein de la paix qu'ils ont enfin trouvé dans un pays qui fut autrefois la demeure de ces hommes que la nature forma sans besoin et sans passions criminals, a elever leurs enfans, en les instruisant de bonne heure a s'aimer, a travailler, et enfin a jouir par la suite de ce bonheur terrestre que les bons epoux trouvent dans leur menage.

Fin de la deuxieme et derniere partie

observation a faire a son excellence monsieur Geffer-son president des etats unis de l'amerique.

ma traversée de france a Neuve york, a été de quatre vingt onze jours, et tous mes papiers ont été mouillé, et hors d'etat d'etre lus et presenté. j'avais avant mon depart de france fait mettre au net le petit ouvrage manuscrit que j'ay L'honneur de vous envoyer. l'ecriture en etait belle, correcte et sans aucune faute d'ortographe.

arrivé a Neuve york sans moyens, même d'existence pour ma famille et moi ; j'ai donc pris le partie de l'ecrire

spices, firearms, rouge, and powder. They generally take three months in taking their merchandise up the river to St. Louis.

Finally, after having gone fifteen leagues farther, the traveler reaches the mouth of the Missouri River which is the boundary of the empire of Louisiana. There is found the post of Petit Côte,[108] which is guarded by an officer and fifty soldiers. There is also there a small city whose population is two or three hundred inhabitants. They trade in pelts with the various savage nations who inhabit the bluffs of that river and who raise the same products as do the inhabitants of St. Louis.

Those good and courageous people, far distant from all faction, as well as from perfidy and tyranny, occupy themselves, in the bosom of peace which they have at last found in a country which was formerly the abode of those men whom nature forms without need and without criminal passions, in rearing their children, in teaching them at an early age to love one another, to work, and finally, to enjoy as a consequence that terrestrial happiness which good spouses find in their homes.

End of the second and last part

Observations to be made to his Excellency, Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States of America.

My voyage from France to New York took ninety-one days, and all my papers were soaked with water and not in condition to be read or presented. Before my departure from France, I had had the little manuscript work, which I have the honor to send you, written out clearly. The writing therein was beautiful, correct, and free from all orthographical errors.

On my arrival at New York, without means, even of existence for my family and myself, I have accordingly

moi même. vous y trouverez quelque rature, des fautes d'ortographe et des mots français mal articulés. votre grandeur d'ame et votre philosophie qui sçavent apprecier avec beaucoup de prudence et de Sagesse, me pardonneront tout cela. comme je ne l'ai fait que par un bon motif, et que mes idées, mes pensées, et mon opinion politique partent d'un coeur sincer et pur. j'espere que vous me lirez et que vous prendrez en consideration tout ce que j'ai dit de bon et d'util pour un pays qui Sans exageration va devenir sous vous le meilleur des pays du monde.

ALLIOT medecin.

A Neuve york ce 13 avril 1804

undertaken to write it [again] myself. You will find some erasures in it, some orthographical errors, and some badly articulated French words. Your greatness of soul and your philosophy which are able to be appreciative with great prudence and wisdom, will pardon me all that, since I have done it all only with a good motive, and since my ideas, thoughts, and political opinion proceed from a pure and sincere heart. I trust that you will read my words and that you will take into consideration all that I have said as good and useful for a country which without exaggeration, is going to become under your rule the best country in the world.

ALLIOT, Physician.

New York, April 13, 1804.

ANNOTATIONS OF PRECEDING DOCUMENTS

[1] From New York, under date of April 14, 1804, Alliot addressed the following curious letter to Jefferson, enclosing his *Reflexions*. This letter is conserved in the Library of Congress, among the Jefferson Papers, A, *Letters received at Philadelphia, Washington, and after his retirement*, second ser., vol. ii, no. 19. It is in the same hand as the *Reflexions*, and covers two folio pages. The translation of the entire letter is presented, as it throws considerable light on the personality of Alliot, of whom there is no record at hand save his own writings.

Alliot, Physician, at present in New York, with his wife and child, to his Excellency, Mr. Gefferson, President of the United States of America:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to send you a manuscript which is entitled *Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana*, in two parts. Since I have written this little work only for a good purpose, and since I have dedicated it to you, I hope that you will welcome it. I earnestly desire that throughout its perusal, you may be able, by your wisdom, by your great talents, and by your virtues, which are today the admiration of all Europe, to give to that good country which you have acquired what it needs in order one day to become like the mother country which you are governing so well.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am also sending you a memoire of facts which will prove to you the persecution and the great misfortunes which my wife, my children, and myself have suffered at New Orleans.

The French government, before which we were led as great criminals, has recognized my innocence, has censured the conduct of its agent, has set me at liberty, and has permitted me by means of a passport, which is now in my possession, to return to the United States of America with my wife and child.

The crime committed in my house and on my person at New Orleans, March eighteen, eighteen hundred and three, at eleven o'clock in the evening, by Judge Meirieux, his bailiff, and certain surgeons who were in the band, is one of those atrocities, unknown, thank God, in the United States, even before their independence.

Why were those men the cause of my ruin, and of the deplorable condition of my wife? For two reasons: the first, because I am a patriot, and would sooner die than embrace the aristocratic of monarchical party; the

second, because I was practicing my profession as physician at New Orleans with superior talents.

Consequently, it is their political opinion, consequently, it is the jealousy of the physicians, which determined them to violate my asylum during the night, to rob me, and to be the cause of the great misfortune that befell my wife at Lorient, and from which, perhaps, she will never recover, for still today, from time to time, she has those crises which announce the loss of her reason.

Since such a crime can not and should not remain unpunished; and since those who arrested me, broke through my doors during the night, and incarcerated, persecuted, and robbed me, dwell still at New Orleans which is today governed by American laws; and since I cannot prosecute them for reparation, damages, and interests before the Spanish power, nor before the French power, for their laws have no force there; and since, living under the laws of the United States of America, I can not and ought not prosecute them before other laws than those of the country: therefore I ask permission of you for it. I hope, after having seen my afflicted condition, you will grant it me, and that I shall obtain prompt justice.

There is still due me from various individuals whom I have treated and doctored about four thousand francs, which they refused to pay me when they heard of my deportation. I ask, furthermore, for authorization to prosecute my debtors. If they had not deprived me of that sum, we would not have had to sell our very shirts in France in order to obtain passage to, and reach, the land of liberty where we have determined to end our days.

Mr. President: Since I have some talent in medicine, I have the honor to send you in writing the name of all the maladies which I treat with success and which I cure, in order that, in your quality as leader of the great nation which you govern, you may be able to announce my name and the various maladies which I treat, to all those whom you govern.

I treat and cure the following maladies:

Cancers or cankers, even after gangrene has set in
Colics in general
Carbuncles
Dysentery and the most obstinate tenesmus
Scurvy
King's evil, or scrofulous glands
Skin eruptions, even if driven inward
Quinsy or disease of the throat
Inflammation of the chest
Fistules in general
Gout
Gravel and stone
Dropsy
Piles
Epilepsy, or the falling sickness, when not congenital

Jaundice
Venereal diseases, even the most inveterate, without mercury
Wens
Loss of milk
Wounds of all kinds, even cut sinews
Paralysis
The pest
Bites from venemous beasts
Phthsis
Retention of the urine
Involuntary loss of the urine
Deafness
Suppression of the monthly courses
Scurf
All sorts of tumors, even of the natural and genital parts
Smallpox and the prevention of its progress
Disease of the pupil of the eye, or dragons

Had I been in the United States at the time of the yellow fever, I am almost sure that I could have prevented its progress and saved the lives of thousands of citizens who no longer live. Wishing to bear the French name no longer, and desirous of dying a free man, and desirous of being useful to my fellows, I declare to you that I shall pursue my profession; and in order to give you an idea of what manner of man I am, and of what I can do, I shall place before you my mode of defining yellow fever. You will recognize by that whether anyone has given such a definition of it since that malady has manifested itself in the United States.

Definition of yellow fever

This fever is an ague, and is accompanied by fever and worms, which are infallible signs of great corruption; a burning fire which dries the tongue and coats it; a slow pulse, and a heart continually growing weaker.

This malady is generally mortal, and more dangerous in summer than in winter, for by the first coming of the heat, the corrupt humors offend all the noble parts by their poison.

Now then for this reason, I believe that I am obliged to minister to the preservation of people by prescribing for them, as soon as I shall have succeeded in the treatment of some persons in order to instruct them in necessary matters, and to withdraw them from their ignorance in regard to their remedies against such kinds of afflictions.

I count on your justice, your goodness, and your protection. While awaiting your Excellency's answer, I am with respect, Mr. President, your very humble and very submissive servant, ALLIOT, Physician. Lodged at New York, at the house of Mr. Halsey, innkeeper, near the butchers' shops and the vegetable market, 'Fly Market.'

The "memoir of facts" of which Alliot speaks in the above letter (a nine-page pamphlet, published by the press of Feutray, Lorient) is

found also among Jefferson's papers. It is addressed by "Alliot, physician, proprietor of negroes and lands in San Domingo, deported from Louisiana, to the inhabitants of the community of Lorient, and to all Frenchmen." This pamphlet charges his wife's attempt at suicide at Lorient to their many misfortunes at New Orleans, namely, his arrest, and the loss of money due him at New Orleans and on notes signed in San Domingo, his deportation to France, and his later imprisonment at Lorient. Of his relations in New Orleans and events there, he says:

> Since calumny and jealousy are the only weapons employed by my enemies in imprisoning me in New Orleans and in having me deported to France; and since all those influential and wealthy enemies have invented everything in order to destroy me; and since they have found men cowardly enough and rascally enough and vile enough to spread in their turn a thousand calumnies against me in this city, I have consequently been forced, in spite of the few means I have left, to sacrifice a portion of the feeble wreck of my fortune in order to make known to the magistrates and to the good inhabitants of this community, who might have been forewarned against me, the awful story of my misfortunes.
>
> Three months after we had arrived at New Orleans, and after I had been practicing as physician with great success, at eleven o'clock at night, on the 18th of March, a judge whom I did not know, followed by several other persons, all armed with swords and muskets, first having broken in my doors, and overturned my furniture and beds, without any consideration for the tears and prayers of my most unfortunate wife (then with her child at the breast), seized my large portfolio, which contained all my papers, titles, and notes, laid hold on me, and dragged me from my house. They threateningly ordered my wife who was following me to return to the house, and then led me forthwith to prison, where I was shut into a room alone and without communication until further orders.
>
> Three days after my imprisonment, the warden, by order of the judge, led me before the latter. In my presence, the judge ordered my portfolio to be opened, examined all the papers in it, and returned them to me with the statement that he found nothing there contrary to the government. He returned them, I say, with the exception of the two notes for *twenty-two thousand livres*, of which I have spoken above. Yet they were in my portfolio when the judge seized it. Finally he ordered the warden to take me back to prison.

On the fifth day of his imprisonment, he underwent the judicial interrogatory. Alliot disclaimed a knowledge of the cause of his arrest, and when charged with practicing medicine without a license, declared that he had never been informed that a license was necessary. He indignantly denied the accusation that he had attempted to incite the colored population to insurrection. He had never inveighed against

Napoleon and General Victor, the latter of whom was to be sent to Louisiana. Alliot presented a certificate signed by various respectable persons in New Orleans in support of his assertions at the interrogatory. After the lapse of a fortnight without the defense promised him having been furnished, Alliot (through his wife) petitioned the French commissioner, Laussat (who had shortly before arrived at New Orleans) for justice. Laussat, however, refused to meddle in the matter, saying, "Since the French government has not yet taken possession of Louisiana, I exercise no authority there; for your husband is under the bounds of Spanish justice, which has the sole right to judge his case." A petition to Governor Salcedo, and an examination of the case by the auditor, succeeded better, and it was announced that Alliot would be liberated. But his worst enemy, the rich and influential physician, Montaigu, on hearing this, vowed that he would see that Alliot was compelled to leave New Orleans.

> It was not difficult for Monsieur Montaigu to ruin me. He had yet one other resource at his command to employ more seductive than piastres. All the inhabitants of New Orleans know perfectly well that Demoiselle Montaigu, his daughter, is intimate with the governor's son, who, because of the advanced age of his father, conducts the political machine of Louisiana. Accordingly, the surgeon Montaigu made the governor, with whom he dined, promise to write to Citizen Laussat to ask him to deport me.

Laussat complied with the request, contrary to his assertion that he would not meddle in the matter, and Alliot was accordingly deported. Passports were issued to himself and wife, and they departed for France. On reaching Lorient, Alliot was imprisoned, contrary to his expectation, as he had committed no offense against the French laws, and still awaits his freedom.

It is interesting to note that Alliot's grandnephew, Hector Alliot, is, today, curator of the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles.

[2] By treaty agreed on at Paris, April 30, 1803. See Appendix.

[3] The census of 1785 for Louisiana showed 14,215 whites, 1,303 free people of color, 16,544 slaves, a total of 32,062. In 1799, the population of Upper Louisiana was 4,748 whites, 161 free mulattoes, 36 free negroes, 883 slaves, a total of 6,028; that for Lower Louisiana was 50,150 whites, and 39,820 blacks, but this estimate appears to be wrong. The population of Lower Louisiana (from 31° north latitude to the Gulf of Mexico; and 68°-78° longitude west of the Ile de Fer) in 1802 was about 60,000, exclusive of the Indians. Of this number

some 26,000 or 27,000 were white, 5,000 or 6,000 freedmen, and about 28,000 slaves. Density of population was about 15 to the square league. It was distributed as follows: 32,000 along the Mississippi (about 10,000 in New Orleans, and 22,000 in the country districts); 6,000 in the district of La Fourche; 12,000 in the districts of Atacapas and Opelousas; 6,000 at the settlements of Bayou-Sara, Avoyelles, Natchitoches, and Ouachita; and 4,000 about Lakes Pontchartrain and Barataria, and along the gulf. The population of Upper Louisiana would probably be about 10,000. See: Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole*, 162-165. Robin's figures [*Voyages*, ii, 204-206] for the population of Lower Louisiana about 1802 (although his results are from various sources) was 37,697, and for Upper Louisiana, 7,000; a total of 44,697. See, also: Houck. *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1910) for the census of Upper Louisiana for various years.

[4] In 1800 the total population of New Orleans was a trifle above 12,000 according to Perrin du Lac.

> About one-quarter of the whites are Spaniards, generally from the province of Catalonia. Poor, lazy, and dirty beyond expression, that people mingle indiscriminately with the blacks, free or slave, and are intimate with them in a manner dangerous to the colony. Those blacks, accustomed to be treated as equals or as friends, are more inclined to depart from the respect with which it is so important to inspire them for the whites. — Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris, 1805), 390, 391.

Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Colonie Espagnole* (Paris, 1804), 248-250, 252] says:

> The French who inhabit Louisiana with the exception of a few honest and distinguished persons are either people of common origin who lacking the advantages of a careful education, are mechanics, petty tradesmen, and planters, or indeed adventurers, from the mother country or the French colonies, whence they have been compelled to disappear because of bankruptcy, rape on girls or women, abuse of confidence, various acts of spoliation, and other pretty things of that sort, which would have merited some exemplary corrections from their fellow citizens had they remained longer among them. They have come to seek asylum in this country rather than elsewhere: first, because they were admitted without any trouble; and secondly, because, added to the advantage of being protected by a foreign government, they found here also advantage of not having to quit their language and the customs peculiar to them. Among those of both classes are persons, either of the former who have made fortunes here and have rubbed off the rough corners, or of the latter, who have also become rich, and what is more, honest, or have

taken the mask of honesty, for it comes to the same thing in the eyes of much of the world. The Spaniards are either persons occupied in the divers employments of the robe, of the pen, and of the sword, who vie with one another in feathering their nests at the expense of the king. Their august master, and of the public, their servant (with the exception of a few among them, who, together with a few French, English, and Americans compose the honest and well regulated portion of the people in general, among all the foreigners of the various nations who are seen here) or Catalanians, who are a common people, nearly all tavern-keepers or petty tradesmen, who aid and sustain one another, like thieves at a fair, and who run after fortune in every way imaginable, to the cost often of honor and good faith. The English or Irish and the Americans are nearly all merchants in the city. Among them are often persons well reared and entirely honest, as there are also others both coarse and unscrupulous. All this can be called mixed merchandize, just as such must usually be found among the people of every class who are brought together by commerce. Further, there are a certain number of Americans who have settled as planters or as artisans in the distant posts – the dregs and scum of their country – as well as certain Frenchmen of whom I have already spoken: but whom fortune has neither polished nor refined, like many of these latter, and who, consequently since they are unable to play methodically in their turn and in imitation of those favorites of fortune the role of well regulated or honest people, have remained *in statu quo*, and such as they were at first, that is to say, poor devils or downright rogues. . . Moreover, there are among the lowest class of foreigners, a few Italians engaged in fishing, some islanders or inhabitants of the Canaries engaged in gardening, and in the production of some other small objects of consumption, and even some few Bohemians [i.e., probably gypsies], whom they have succeeded in domiciling there, almost all of whom are dancers or fiddlers. In this respect, I dare say that there are few places in the world, where one may see in a locality of like extent, the human species so diversified in nations, races, and colors, as at New Orleans, in the months of January, February, and March, when the concourse of people is more considerable and more varied than at any other time. It is really an original spectacle and one that seems to have been reserved for this little corner of the world.

See also note 3, and notes 79 and 83.

[5] See note 10.

[6] There is considerable truth in Alliot's assertions and insinuations concerning medical practice in Louisiana at this period. The matter is commented on by some of the writers of the time. See: Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole*, 83. See also note 36.

[7] Also called l'Orient. This dedicatory letter was, however, evidently written, or at least, revised, in New York.

[8] Lake Pontchartrain.

[9] The canal dug by Baron de Carondelet, who was governor of Louisiana, 1792-1797. See: Gayarré. *History of Louisiana*, vol. iii, 331, 332. The *Account of Louisiana*, compiled at the instance of Jefferson in 1803, describes the canal as one and one-half miles long.

> At the mouth of it about 2½ leagues from the city, is a small fort called St. Jean, which commands the entrance from the lake.

Communication was had thence to Mobile and the West Florida settlements. Boats drawing six or eight feet could navigate the bayou, but special swells from the lake were necessary to allow them to enter it without lightering.

[10] The unhealthy conditions at New Orleans are thus described by early writers:

> Nothing equals the filthiness of New Orleans, unless it be the unhealthiness which has, for some years, appeared to have resulted from it. That city, the filth of which can not be drained off, is not paved, and probably never would be if it remained in the hands of the Spaniards. Its markets which are unventilated, are reeking with rottenness. Its quay is adorned with fish that rot there for want of purchasers. Its squares are covered with the filth of animals, which no one takes the trouble to remove. Consequently, there is seldom a year that the yellow fever or some other contagious maladies do not carry off many strangers. Even the inhabitants of the country are often overtaken by such maladies. — Perrin du Lac, *Voyage*, 392, 393.

Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 90] describes the filth of the city as being "in the port, in the streets, in the yards of the houses even, where heaps of filth are thrown indiscriminately, which are removed only partially and at long intervals."

[11] According to Howard [*Louisiana Purchase*, 28], sugar was first introduced into Louisiana by the Jesuits from San Domingo in 1751. The Jesuits also sent over some negroes experienced in the manufacture of sugar. One Dubreuil built the first sugar mill on what is now Esplanade Avenue, in New Orleans. The first real success in sugar making in Louisiana is well described by Gayarré in his *History*, vol. iii, 347-350.

Of sugar cane cultivation and the manufacture of sugar, Thomas Hutchins [*Historical Narrative* (Philadelphia, 1784), 38] says:

> In the year 1762, several of the richest planters began the cultivation of sugar, and erected mills to press the canes; the sugar produced was of a very fine quality, and some of the crops were very large: but no dependence can be had on this article, as some years the winters are too cold, and kill the canes in the ground.

Pontalba (a Louisiana Creole) in his *Mémoire* (see Gayarré's

History, vol. iii, 435-437), discussing the culture of sugar cane says that while eighteen months is required in the West Indies for its growth, seven suffices in Louisiana, namely, from March to October. Unlike the cane of San Domingo, which sours two days after cutting, that of Louisiana remains sound if covered with its stubble on the ground until it can be manufactured into sugar. Consequently, this source of wealth has become very important in Louisiana. The first successful plantation was started in 1795 with thirty negroes by one Jean Etienne Boré (the mayor of New Orleans when that city was transferred to the United States), who sold his raw sugar to Americans for $12,000. Its quality was at least equal to that of Martinique. At the time the memoir was written, so common was the cultivation of sugar that there were sixty plantations with an annual output of 4,000,000 pounds of sugar, which yielded 20 to 25 per cent on investment. Perrin du Lac [*Voyage*, 381-383] speaks of the early cultivation of sugar in Louisiana as follows:

> Indigo cultivation has been replaced throughout the lower part of the colony by that of sugar, the easy sale of which assures the inhabitants a more certain and not less profitable income. During the frightful crises which have depopulated San Domingo, the scattered inhabitants sought everywhere the means of withdrawing themselves from the misery which pursued them. Some thought that lower Louisiana where the cultivation of sugar had not yet been attempted might produce sugar abundantly, and that the climate, although subject to very great cold, might profitably permit its manufacture. The several experiments made there succeeded so well, that soon all the inhabitants imitated them and renounced every other branch of agriculture in order to give themselves entirely to it. The sugar made there is good and substantial, although very inferior to that of more southern colonies. The reason for this is that the sugar cane, instead of being ripened by the heat, is, so to say, forced by the white frosts, which scarcely ever fail to make themselves felt in the month of December. These frosts have two drawbacks: the first to diminish the quality of the cane which can only remain in the ground for nine months; the second, to destroy at times the harvest when they come too early, for since the cane can be worked only continuously, and since the proprietors can begin the work only about the time that the cane has become ripe, if the frosts come at the last of November or in the first part of December, a great part of the cane is lost while still standing or is only fit for syrup. The climate, which is becoming warmer as the country is being opened up, causes the inhabitants to hope that they will not have long to fear that drawback which is the only one that apparently opposes the cultivation of sugar.

See, also, Berquin-Duvallon's *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 121-141 for matter relating to the cultivation and refining of sugar and its prod-

ucts. An arpent of ground, he declares, will yield a net product of 2,000 pounds of sugar and about two hogsheads of syrup. These will sell for 1,000 livres tournois. Americans who bought sugar in Louisiana complained that hot weather caused it to turn to molasses, which may have been due to insufficient refining. In 1801-1802, the sugar production was estimated at about 5,000,000 pounds. Sugar plantations along the Mississippi are subject, though but rarely, to destructive hurricanes. The planters must also fear frosts. The cane must be manufactured into sugar between the months of October and February. Another obstacle in the manufacture is the necessity of cutting great quantities of wood for the refining of the sugar, the cost of which is almost prohibitive. The yield, in the opinion of this author, has reached its highwater mark. Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 224-233] discusses the sugar cultivation. He concludes that the lands of Lower Louisiana are suitable for such cultivation, and that the quality of the sugar is excellent. More hands are needed. In 1796, there were ten refineries, while at the time Collot was there, there were more than two hundred. The possible production of sugar and rum was estimated [*Account of Louisiana*, 31, 32] in 1803 at 25,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 12,000 puncheons of rum. Sugar was imported as follows from Louisiana and the Floridas into the United States: 1799, 773,542 pounds; 1800, 1,560,865 pounds; 1801, 967,619 pounds; 1802, 1,576,933 pounds. The sugar crop of the state of Louisiana for 1823 was 15,401 tons; in 1905, 336,751 tons of 2,240 pounds. See *Statement of sugar crop made in Louisiana in 1905-1906*, by A. Bouchereau (New Orleans, 1909). See also: Porter, George Richardson. *Nature and properties of the sugar cane* (Philadelphia, 1831); Newlands, A. R. and Benjamin E. R. Newlands. *Sugar: a handbook for planters and refiners* (London and New York, 1909). A valuable contribution to the "Routine of work on a great sugar plantation" for various years after 1827, will be found in *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, vol. i (compiled by U. B. Phillips, Cleveland, 1910), 214-230.

[12] Many of the early documents make considerable mention of indigo raising in Louisiana, which seemed at one time to promise excellent returns. However, it was generally unprofitable, as the crops were greatly troubled by insects. It was worth in France from seven to nine francs per pound. See Pontalba's *Mémoire* in Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 436, 437. Oliver Pollock, agent for Virginia and the United States in New Orleans during the American Revolutionary

War, owned an indigo plantation, which he seems to have regarded as profitable. See his letters in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 221, 222] says that the indigo of Louisiana was much inferior to that of Guatemala and the Antilles, although better than that of Georgia and the Carolinas. The crops were often lost before ripening, because of the dampness of Louisiana, for indigo requires a dry climate. The dampness is probably the cause of the worm which destroys the root of the plant. The crop has been destroyed several years in succession. This, as well as the low price in Europe, as the market is glutted, has largely caused planters to discontinue its cultivation, and to give their attention to the raising of other products and to lumbering.

[13] The exportation of cotton from Louisiana, according to Pontalba [Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 437] was about 200,000 pounds. Its fiber was fine but short. During the peace, the entire product was sent to France. See, also: Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 142-147. This author says that the vicinity of New Orleans was not very favorable for cotton. The best districts were the upper parts of Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée, and the regions of Attakapas and Opelousas. An arpent of ground usually yielded about 400 pounds of cotton, valued at 100 piastres. One good negro could cultivate about three arpents. However, its cultivation was less popular than that of sugar cane, and there was a prejudice against it on account of caterpillars and excessive rains which damaged the crop. Notwithstanding this, Berquin-Duvallon thinks it the fitter crop for Louisiana. It was complained that the fiber of Louisiana cotton was too short and could not be profitably used in many manufactures, but this was due to the method by which it was worked. Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 223, 224], says of cotton and its cultivation:

> Cotton is cultivated successfully in Louisiana. Its fiber is as fine and as white as in the Antilles, but shorter. One of the causes which contributes to disgust the inhabitants with the cultivation is its difficulty, while it employs a great many hands; and the cotton plant, which resists the climate for three years, perishes in Louisiana, because of the severity of the winters (although the latter last but a short period) if it is not replanted every year. Also the fact that the seed clings to the cotton makes it necessary to exercise great care in picking it, and the sort of coarse mill that is used to further that operation, shortens the cotton fiber still more — which is the cause of its low price in Europe, where the cotton [from Louisiana] is always considered to be inferior to that of Surinam, Cayenne, the Antilles, and India. However, one is disposed to believe that the more enlightened and prudent cotton planters of Louisiana will

not abandon its cultivation, which, if it demands care, may give sure harvests in return, and which, excepting the preparation of the ground, can be entrusted to children. As to the clinging of the seed to the cotton, that depends absolutely on the seeds used, the choice of which may be learned by experience.

He says that the same difficulties in separating the seed has been experienced in Georgia and the Carolinas. The new machine (Whitney's cotton gin) just introduced into the United States, and which will doubtless be improved will have a good effect, as is seen already in the advancing prices. See also Robin's *Voyages*, vol. iii, 44-62. He says of the cotton harvest that a negro could harvest at least 60 pounds per day, which after cleaning, would make about 20 pounds. The harvest began in the middle of August and lasted until December. Prices were 15 to 20 sous per livre during the Spanish régime, and 20 to 28 sous under the American. One arpent could produce 250 to 300 pounds. See Stone's *The Negro Problem* (New York, 1908) for modern estimates of production per acre and individual capacity in the state of Mississippi. The following statistics are taken from James L. Watkins's *King Cotton, a historical and statistical review, 1790-1908* (New York, 1908) chapter ix, "Louisiana and its cotton crops from 1800 to 1908," pp. 188-211: In 1800, 3,000 bales; in 1810, 8,000; in 1820-1830, an increase to 139,000; 1830-1840, an increase to 411,000; largest crop prior to the Civil War, 778,000; first crop after Civil War, 165,000; in 1904, largest crop ever produced in the state, 1,109,000. The area planted in 1879 was 865,000 acres; in 1906, 1,778,000. In 1806, an acre of cotton land produced 250 pounds of cotton, which was worth 20 cents per pound. One negro could cultivate four acres. The species of cotton known as Mexican was first introduced into Louisiana in 1806. See also George McHenry's *The cotton trade, considered in connection with the system of negro slavery in the Confederate States* (London, 1863); and *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, vol. ii, 231-244.

[14] Pontalba [Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 437] reports the amount of tobacco raised in the Natchitoches district at 2,000 pounds, the greater part of which was exported to France, and the rest to Vera Cruz and Campechy. According to Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 147, 148] cultivation of tobacco in Louisiana had considerably decreased because of fraud introduced in the manufacture of it. Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 233, 234] says of the tobacco culture:

Tobacco is also cultivated there, especially in Natchitoches, Pointe-Coupée, and Natchez. The first-named settlement supplies a tobacco of

> the first grade, which is considered the finest and best in the market. Two millions of pounds of it are exported annually. In the other two settlements the tobacco is also good but inferior [to that of the first]. For that reason it is less cultivated there and exported in less quantity.

In 1906, Louisiana had the smallest acreage of the tobacco-producing states – only 61 acres, with a yield of 475 pounds per acre, a total yield of 28,975 pounds. It was valued at 27½ cents per pound or a total of $7,968, farm value, December 1, 1906. See *United States Tobacco Journal*, Dec. 29, 1906. See also the article on "Tobacco in Louisiana" by Professor Stubbs, in *Louisiana, its products, soil and climate* (Baton Rouge, 1894), 105-109.

[15] See "Olive culture in the United States" by Newton B. Pierce, in *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, 1896* (Washington, 1897), 371-390. Much of California constitutes a region especially adapted to the cultivation and production of olives, but this fruit will also grow in parts of Arizona, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and perhaps in parts of southwestern Utah and southwestern Nevada. Stoddard [*Louisiana*, 168] says that trees grew in the cypress swamps that were called olive trees, because of a resemblance to the latter.

[16] For silk culture in the United States, see "The United States Department of Agriculture and Silk Culture," by L. O. Howard, in *Yearbook of the Dept. of Agric., 1903* (Washington, 1904), 137-148. Silk culture seems to have been introduced into New England about 1660, by Mr. Aspinwall, who had nurseries of mulberries at New Haven and on Long Island. Culture was begun in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1771. No real success has been obtained on this continent.

[17] This is doubtless the *Traité sur la culture de la vigne, avec l'art de faire le vin, les eaux-de-vie, esprit-de-vin, vinaigres simples et composés* (Paris, an x – 1801), second edition, by Jean Antoine Claude Chaptal, Comte de Chanteloup. This author wrote many agriculture treatises, in which he deals with the subject chiefly from the chemical side. Collot, when speaking of Upper Louisiana [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 218] says:

> The vine is found among this surprising variety of products. The country is covered with them. It is, however, a wild vine, and but little attempt has been made to cultivate it successfully.

This vine differed from that seen by Collot in the northern parts of America. Its stock grew to about two and one-half or three feet,

while the vine itself was a climbing one that grew more especially on stony ground. Its leaves resembled those of the vine of Madera and the district of Champagne, while its grape was black, small, and very full of sugar. Collot thinks cultivation would improve both size and quality.

[18] The wax tree is the wax myrtle or bayberry, sometimes called the candleberry. Its scientific name is *Myrica cerifera* and it belongs to the sweet-gale family (*Myricaceae*).

> Among the products natural to Louisiana, that of the wax tree must be particularly distinguished. Although as yet it has not offered a major interest, it can not longer be doubted that it will become hereafter an object of trade of the highest importance. A French chemist, a refugee for some years in New York, has just discovered a simple and cheap process for making that wax as white as beeswax. The approbation accorded him by the government of the United States, in granting him a patent for his invention, can do no less than add to the value of that shrub and to diffuse its culture in all parts of North America, where the climate is suitable for it. — Perrin du Lac, *Voyages*, 383.

Jacquemin [*Mémoire*, 16, 17] describes the tree and its fruit. He says that there were two qualities of wax, the first of which was sold in the islands for one hundred sous and the second for forty.

[19] "Balise" is a French word signifying buoy or mark, the applicability of which to the location on which the station of this name was placed is readily seen. With the description in the text of Balise, compare the two following. Hutchins [*Hist. Narr.*, 31, 32] describes Balise and navigation about it as follows:

> It is an observation said to be founded on experience, that where the water of the Mississippi incorporates with, and apparently loses itself in the bay of Mexico, the current divides, and generally sets north-easterly and south-westerly, but out of soundings the currents are in a great measure governed by the winds; and if they are not attended to, vessels may be driven south-westward beyond the Balize into the bay of St. Bernard, which is reported to be full of shoals, and consequently a very dangerous navigation. To come to an anchor off the Balize, vessels approaching the land ought to bring the old Balize to bear about W by S, and the new Balize nearly WNW; they will then be about two miles distant from, and opposite to the East pass, or mouth, in 13 or 14 fathoms water: and the strong NE and SW winds always occasion great swells off the Balize, yet when anchored as above directed they may ride in safety; except a SE wind, which is the most dangerous, as it blows directly on shore, should come on so violent as to part them from their anchors, and prevent their carrying sail; in which case, if care has not been taken to secure a good offing, they will drift either on the mud banks

into the pass a la Loutre, which has only eight feet water, or into the bay Briton, where they will be in a critical situation, on account of the shoal water for which that bay is remarkable. The best precaution against the consequences of a south-east wind will be to get under way before the strength of the gale comes on, and to steer about N by W half W for the island called Grand Gosier distant 7 leagues. In sailing round the south westermost part of which, care should be taken to steer clear of a shoal that runs out from it WSW about two miles, which being passed, vessels should luff up, until the SW end of the island bears nearly SE two miles; there is then good anchoring in three and a half fathoms soft bottom. There is another safe anchoring place in 2 fathoms water, just within the SW point of the Isle au Briton; from the SW end of which a shoal runs out nearly half a mile. This island is about a league to the westward of the Grand Gosier, and there is good anchoring between them in 3 and 4 fathoms. If a south-east gale should happen at night, it would be impossible to see the way between the above islands. In that case, a NNE course from the mouths of the Mississippi will clear the chandelures, situated about 3 leagues to the north-ward of the Isle au Grand Gosier, which are better than 9 leagues in length. As all the above islands are low and have no trees growing on them, they can not be seen at any distance. On that account it will be necessary when sailing towards them, to keep a good look out. There is drift wood on these islands, and fresh water may be got by digging. The water between the chandelures and the peninsula of Orleans is full of shoals, and the navigation fit only for small craft.

The same author says, *ut supra*, 33, 34:

The old Balize, a small port erected by the French on a little island, was in the year 1734, at the mouth of the river, it is now two miles above it. In the year 1766, Don Antonio D'Ulloa erected some barracks on a small island, the new Balize, (to which he gave the name of St. Carlos) for the convenience of pilots, and other purposes, being near the south-east entrance of the river, and a more dry and higher situation than any there abouts. There was not the least appearance of this island 30 years ago. The old and new Balize were formerly very inconsiderable posts, with 3 or 4 cannon in each, and garrisoned by a subaltern's command. Such are their situations that they neither defend the Mississippi, nor the deepest channel into it, and appear to have been established only for the purposes of assisting vessels coming into the river, and forwarding intelligence or dispatches to New Orleans.

Perrin du Lac [*Voyages*, 453-455] speaks at length as follows:

At Balize resides the chief pilot, who alone has the right to enter or leave vessels bound to and from New Orleans, to whatever nation they belong. That custom which still holds to the system of exclusion of the Spanish government is extremely annoying to travelers. The pilots under the orders of the chief pilot, sure of having no competitors, only go out when the vessels are near the channels, and the winds must be

very moderate before they will trust themselves to the sea. This exclusive privilege is so much more contrary to trade, in that it is extremely dangerous to make land in that part of the gulf, either because of the violence of the winds, or because of the great number of the mouths of the Mississippi which often deceive navigators, or finally, because of the little depth of water with which the surrounding lands are covered. The many accidents that occur along those coasts would be in part prevented, if the pilotage were open to all who had served a suitable apprenticeship. Hope of gain would induce them to cruise out a certain distance and go ahead of the ships for some miles from the coasts, as is the practice everywhere. Another drawback arising from that exclusive privilege is that the king of Spain, who is charged with all the expense of the pilotage and who profits from it, has no suitable ship to aid those who are overtaken by an accident. Accordingly, he who runs aground, generally loses his cargo, while a boat would often suffice to tow or lighter it. The point on which he who sails in those regions must principally focus his attention, is the angle of the wind by which he must enter the channels. The pilot has assured me that ignorance of sailors regarding this point was the chief cause of the accidents. The majority go straight toward the turn as soon as they see it and are often grounded too far ashore to obtain aid. The prudent sailor must not forget to enter the channels only when he sees the turn of Balize at west northwest. Those channels which have only twelve feet of water at high tide, present great dangers because of their slight width and the rocks near them. In accordance with the orders of the government, they ought to be marked, but for fear lest anyone enter without his help, the chief pilot shows in that part of his duties, if not bad faith, at least great negligence. The king of Spain maintains a garrison of twenty men at Balize, especially for the customs service. An employé of this service visits all the vessels that enter or leave. There are also twenty-four men under the orders of the chief pilot, paid and maintained on military footing. However, they can quit at will, provided that it is not at a time when the service is pressing, and that they are not in debt. This last condition usually binds them for several years, as the chief pilot is careful to keep them always dependent on him by furnishing them with the strong liquors which they consume in great quantity.

[20] See note 77.

[21] Of the settlement of Plaquemine, Perrin du Lac [*Voyages*, 450-452] says:

Sixty miles below New Orleans is found Fort Plaquemine, which was built during the government and under the direction of Baron de Carondelet. . . Fort Plaquemine, built entirely of brick, presents a battery of twelve pieces of large caliber, at each of its two faces which look on the river. Fort Bourbon, on the opposite side [of the river] has a battery which crosses with that of Plaquemine. The garrison of those two posts is composed of eighty or one hundred men, under command of a

lieutenant colonel. . . From Plaquemine to Balise, the last Spanish post on the Mississippi, the country is absolutely uninhabited, and the land so low that no settlement can ever be made there.

General Victor Collot, who served under Rochambeau during the American Revolution, and who traveled in North America in 1796, writes [*Voyage dans l'Amérique, Septenrionale* (Paris, 1826), vol. ii, 132-137] as follows of Fort Plaquemine:

The English Turn is a bend in the river, which from that part to the sea, winds very considerably. That point had formerly been chosen by the English in order to defend the entrance of the river, and two small forts had been built there. But the Spaniards have abandoned them and have preferred, with reason, a position twenty miles lower, called the Plaquemine Turn [*Detour de Plaquemines*], which is only eighteen miles distant from the first mouth of the river. They have established a very considerable fort there called Fort Plaquemine. It is located on the left bank of the river, at the mouth of a small creek or bayou called Mardi-Gras, in a moving swamp, which extends quite to the sea. It has no land approach, and one must reach it by the river. The form is so irregular and so uneven that it is very difficult to give a clear idea of it, especially as I saw it only in passing. . . It is a bastion closed by two long arms broken in the middle – which gives it at first view the appearance of a hornwork. The parapets facing the river are eighteen feet thick and are faced with brick. A ditch twenty feet wide and twelve deep surrounds it. The two long arms and the gorge are defended only by a remblai, the earth of which was taken from the ditch, which has the same width and the same depth all round as in front. On the remblai are twelve-foot stakes. The bayou of Mardi-Gras supplies the water for all the ditches. Within have been built two barracks for three hundred men, a lodging for the commandant, and an excellent powder magazine. On the north side has been constructed a small levee for a distance of three hundred toises along the river bank, which runs toward one of the faces of the bastion, in which a door with a drawbridge has been built. This is the only place by which one can leave the fort without running danger of being engulfed in the mud. Twenty-four pieces of cannon of all calibers compose its battery, and a captain with one hundred men, who are relieved monthly, comprise its garrison. This post is intended for the defense of the entrance of the river, and consequently, to cover New Orleans on the side next the sea. It is excellent for this purpose, and the choice of the locality was perfect, not only because it is covered by the bayou of Mardi-Gras, but also because it is situated exactly at the point where the lands of both banks of the river cease to be firm and passable. Consequently, it is impossible to disembark on either of the banks of the river near the fort, either above or below. Therefore, it can be approached only by means of the works, which could not be undertaken without being provided with the necessary materials – materials which are not usually supplied by vessels. It would not be easier to force the passage

of the river, for no boats can enter there except corvets or small frigates. Besides the fort would present a very formidable artillery against boats of small burden, independently of the red-hot balls and bombs, the effect of which would be very greatly feared by the enemy. The river, at that point, is not more than six or seven hundred toises wide; and supposing that some vessels did succeed in forcing the passage, all the transports would certainly run the risk of being sunk one after the other. Also, so long as that fort existed, communication between the sea and the attacking army would be in danger of being intercepted. It must, then, be said that two galleys, protected by the fire of Fort Plaquemine, are sufficient to prevent any force whatever from being able to ascend the river; and it must even be added that any enemy who knew the locality would never undertake it. But all these local advantages are not without great disadvantages. Those moving, or rather floating, lands admit of no fixed foundation, on the solidity of which one can count. The fort, that is to say, the part faced with brick, although built on piles two feet in diameter and twenty feet long and set six inches apart, has already settled three feet on the bayou side and two feet on the eastern side. All the brick facings, which date from scarcely three years ago, are also cracked in all parts. The banks of the river are daily washing away, in spite of the stakes, the clear space, and a hundred convicts employed the entire year in repairing them. All this raises a doubt as to the length of time one can succeed in assuring the stability of these lands.

[22] See note 35.

[23] Natchez was one of the posts transferred to the United States by the treaty with Spain of 1795. Andrew Ellicott was appointed commissioner to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty, survey the ceded territory, determine the boundaries, etc. See his *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1803), for the years 1796-1800 (the Ellicott papers are conserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State). See, also: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 366-371. For descriptions of Natchez, see: Perrin du Lac. *Voyage*, 368-370; and Collot. *Voyage*, vol. ii, 78-92. The oath of allegiance taken by inhabitants of the Natchez district, after the cession (conserved in the public archives at Havana, Cuba) is as follows:

Oath of allegiance to the king our sovereign

We, the undersigned, imbued with the greatest gratitude for the benefits and favors that we have received from the Spanish government during the time that we have lived under the dominion of the king our sovereign in the district of Natchez, which was ceded by treaty to the United States of North America; and being on this account obliged to remain under the latter government, until disposing of our property; that having been done, and being thoroughly convinced of the well known mercy of his Majesty: we have petitioned the governor general of this province to do us the favor to receive us as subjects of his Majesty in the government under his

command. That favor has been granted to us, and, in consequence thereof, we present ourselves before Don José Vidal, captain and civil and military commandant of the port of Concordia where we desire to settle in order to take and ratify the oath of allegiance in the following form.

We swear in the most formal manner, according to the rites of our religions, that since it is our sincere desire and wish to establish ourselves under the protection and dominion of the king of Spain, we declare ourselves to be his subjects from this moment. For this reason we renounce any alliance that we may have had with any other nation, since we are subjecting ourselves entirely to the Spanish nation, where we desire to live with our families, not only for the advantages that may result to us from obtaining lands for our settlement, but also because of our inclination to be governed by the several laws of the Spanish government, through our long experience of their efficient administration.

Consequently, we swear not to offend, in any way, directly or indirectly, the Spanish nation; nor to conspire in a manner harmful to it; but on the contrary to defend it by exposing our lives and property against any enemy, within or without his dominions. We promise not to make use of expressions injurious to said government; but on the contrary, it will be our obligation from now on, and as soon as we hear and learn anything that may be contrary to the crown or contrary to public tranquility and good order to inform the governor or nearest commandant and lend efficient force to persecute criminals without consideration of class or person.

We declare also that we have had no part in, nor taken arms against the Spanish government during the last revolution of Natchez when the troops of the United States came to take possession of that country in accordance with the treaty.

We promise also to enlist in the militia, and to observe the rules established for that service; to take arms not only to defend our rights and property, but also with so much the more cause and right, to maintain the sovereignty of his Majesty, and to defend his crown against the enemies of the nation who might attempt particularly to invade this part of his domains, or against those who in violation of the laws and regulations established by the government, intend to violate them. We promise and are obliged by the present oath, to obey our superiors in command in all the casualties in which they may consider our assistance to be necessary; and in case that we may have committed any crime by which we may be demanded from any other nation where we may have taken refuge, in order to escape punishment, we subject ourselves to be treated in the same manner as the rest of his Majesty's subjects, and to lose the right of becoming natives of the place where we may have taken refuge; and no other proof of this declaration is necessary than the copy of this oath.

We promise also to observe, so much as in our power, all the laws and regulations established, or those which may be established, in this province, the chief ones and the most essential points having been explained to us, by the above said commandant before two witnesses who witnessed our oath. The latter having been read in our language, and its

contents having been well understood, we promise solemnly to comply faithfully and legally with all that is here set down, at the cost of our lives and possessions, and in virtue of the oath which we have taken.

A copy of the oath of allegiance. VIDAL [rubric]

[Endorsed: Copy made from legajo 557 of the Intendancy.]

[24] Alliot refers here of course to the troubles between Spain and the United States regarding the navigation of the Mississippi, of which the short-lived repeal of the right of deposit at New Orleans was a feature. See: Ogg, F. A. *Opening of the Mississippi* (New York, 1904). See also various documents at end of volume.

[25] On the insurrection of the negroes in San Domingo, and the subsequent attempt at insurrection in Louisiana, see Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 433 (Pontalba's *Mémoire*). See, also: Adams. *History of the United States*, vol. i, 377-398.

[26] The district from Plaquemine to the sea was low and swampy, and that whole region was subject to disaster from hurricane and tidal waves. The last had occurred in 1794. See: *Account of Louisiana*, 14, 15.

[27] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 21, 22] speaks as follows of the lowest settlements in Lower Louisiana:

About fifteen leagues below New Orleans begin the settlements of the colony, the first of which are but small, and present only a tongue of land cultivable between the river and swamps — a space so restricted, that from the river's edge, one may, as is said in some places, spit into the cypress swamp. After that come without any order, above the bend formed by the river and called the Detour de Anglais [i.e., English Turn], and so difficult to double, a small number of wood sawmills, a few sugar refineries and places where vegetables and food are raised — all these lying one after another in a straight line along the river banks. From thence one may distinguish easily and without straining the sight, the limits and extremities of the settlements made and to be made along all that long narrow strip of land bordering the river on either side; but which form, nevertheless, the most considerable portion and the best located part of the colony.

[28] Taffia was a liquor resembling rum which was made by distilling the juice of the sugar cane. See Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 347.

[29] By tiger is probably meant the panther or lynx.

[30] More than thirty saw mills were constructed on the Mississippi near New Orleans after its cession to Spain, the output of which was largely boxes for the sugar trade of Cuba and other places. See Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 439 (Pontalba's *Mémoire*).

[31] Pomegranates, lemons, oranges, and olives were extensively culti-

vated in the settlements of the Acadians and Germans in Lower Louisiana. See Collot's *Voyage*, vol. ii, 234. Oranges, figs, sugarcane, and indigo were first introduced by the Jesuits who settled in Louisiana in 1727. See the article on "Louisiana Oranges," by Henry N. Baker, in *Louisiana; its products, soil and climate* (Baton Rouge, 1894), 109-111. Its output was about 450,000 boxes annually.

[32] See note 11.

[33] Pontalba, the creole agent ordered to report on all phases of Louisiana conditions saw clearly the great need of that territory in order that it might develop economically:

> Louisiana wants working hands. Give her population and she will become an inexhaustible source of wealth for France. Give her population, whatever be the means employed, but give her population. — Gayarré, *History*, vol. iii, 442.

[34] There are many descriptions of New Orleans of this period. Compare with that of the text the following. Hutchins [*Hist. Narr.*, 36, 37] thus describes it at a slightly earlier period than Alliot:

> The town of New Orleans, the metropolis of Louisiana, which was regularly laid out by the French in the year 1720, is situated on the East side of the river in 30d 2m North latitude, 105 miles from the Balize, as already mentioned; all the streets are perfectly straight but too narrow, and cross each other at right angles. There are betwixt seven and eight hundred houses in this town, generally built with timber frames raised about eight feet from the ground, with large galleries round them, and the cellars under the floors level with the ground: any subterraneous buildings would be constantly full of water. Most of the houses have gardens. Exclusive of slaves, there are about seven thousand inhabitants of both sexes. The fortification is only a line of stockades, with bastions of the same materials, on three sides, a banquet within, and a very trifling ditch without, and is only a defense against musquetry. The side next the river is open, and is secured from the inundation of the river by a raised bank, generally called the Levée, which extends from the English Turn, or the Detour des Anglois, to the upper settlements of the Germans, a distance of more than 50 miles, with a good road all the way. There is reason to believe the period is not very distant when New Orleans may become a great and opulent city, if we consider the advantages of its situation, but a few leagues from the sea, on a noble river, in a most fertile country, under a most delightful and wholesome climate, within two weeks sail of Mexico by sea, and still nearer the French, Spanish and British islands in the West Indies, with a moral certainty of its becoming a general receptacle for the produce of that extensive and valuable country on the Mississippi, Ohio, and its other branches; all of which are much more than sufficient to ensure the future wealth, power and prosperity of this city.

Perrin du Lac [*Voyages*, 384, 385] is less enthusiastic in his description:

> New Orleans . . . does not merit a favorable mention. All that can be said in its favor and which touches its very foundations, is that there was not for a great distance another site more beautiful, or higher or healthier. New Orleans located on the left bank of the Mississippi, about one hundred miles from its mouth, is built on an island formed by Lake Pontchartrain and the Iberville River, the greatest width of which is twenty miles and its length seventy. It enjoys none of the advantages which usually determine a new settlement. The houses which are built more than eight feet below the level of the river are only artificially protected from the periodical inundations of the latter. During May and June of every year, the inhabitants live in a state of fear lest they be engulfed or submerged, and one trembles at the sight of the lack of solidity of the works on which their safety depends.

Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 23-31] enters more fully into the life of the city, a fact that makes his description one of the most valuable of this period, notwithstanding his gently sarcastic tone at times:

> New Orleans is located nearly under the thirtieth degree of north latitude and the seventy-fourth degree of longitude west from the meridian of Île-de-Fer, at a distance of thirty-five leagues from the sea, following the course of the Mississippi. It is built on the left bank of that river on an island belonging to West Florida, and formed by the Gulf of Mexico, Lake Pontchartrain, the Manchac or Iberville River, and the Mississippi. That island is about sixty leagues long in its greatest extension and has a width varying from two to fifteen leagues. But the greater part of that territory offers unsurmountable obstacles to agriculture, and cannot even be inhabited because of the immense swamps by which it is intersected and the physical impossibility of draining them and of purifying a soil which, like nearly all that of Lower Louisiana, affords but very little drainage to the stagnant waters with which it is covered, and which hold the abundance of the waters from the rains and the filtration or overflows from the waters of the river and the lakes. Consequently, there is a strip along the Mississippi scarcely a half league wide that is inhabited and cultivated. In front of this city, the river forms a bay or kind of half-circular but wide basin on its eastern side, which serves it as a port. Along that basin the ships anchor, one beside the other, and so near the bank that by means of two strong transverse planks fastened in the manner of a bridge, one may pass without trouble, and dryshod, from the land to any boat and unload it with the greatest of ease. The river's depth, measured in the middle of its bed, in front of the city, is, it is said, about forty brasses. Fifty years or so ago that same measure taken at the same place, gave a result of seventy brasses. Hence it follows (unless the measures were exceedingly faulty) that the bed of the

river, while widening during that period (as is the fact, which is sufficiently proven by unanimous reports and witnesses), has decreased in depth; and that it has lost in one sense what it has gained in another. Its width, measured at the same place, is about five hundred toises, or so, and is proportionate to the high or low water mark. Behind the city is a water commmunication to Lake Pontchartrain which lies not farther than two leagues in a straight line toward the northwest. One may ascend from that lake in small sailing vessels by way of Bayou St. Jean which empties into it. At the end of this is a canal, opened some years ago through the care of Monsieur de Carondelet, governor of the colony. On this canal anchored those small schooners which anchored near the city in the first period of its formation. It is a work truly useful however viewed, and besides, while it procures for the city the advantages of a double port, it drained and dried up the neighboring swamps and served to drain off the quantity of the stagnant water. As this canal has not been kept up since the departure of that governor, it has lost, and is daily losing, part of its advantages as it is filling up more and more, so that it cannot now receive boats of medium size. The city is six hundred toises long by three hundred toises wide. One may add to and comprehend with this, a suburb, which, like the city, lies along the river, and which is almost three hundred toises long by the half of that in width. But, strictly speaking, the city and its suburbs, (the latter especially), are only outlines. Most of the houses are built of wood, on top of the level ground, on a sort of support and brick foundation and are covered with shingles: all of very combustible cypress wood. Consequently, this city has been accidentally burned twice during a short period of years — in the month of March, 1788, and in the month of December, 1794. Yet despite that, people still build daily in the center of the city and on the site of the old burned houses, without taking any thought of the dangerous consequences of that sort of building, and for the sake of economy, that sort of large stalls, in which everything is of cypress wood, except the foundations. I regard these as inviting fire [*comme des foyers d'incendie.*] There exist no more solid and less dangerous buildings than those built some years ago along the river in the first streets in the fore part of the city. Those edifices are built of brick and tile, of one story (very rarely of two), with little narrow verandahs across the front of the first story. In the back part of the city and its suburbs only shanties are to be seen. The streets are quite straight and very wide, but that is all. Bordered by a small sidewalk, at most four or five feet wide, bounded with a cypress plank, generally so badly kept up and so annoying because of the small outside stairways leading to the doors of the houses that a pedestrian has nothing better to do than to follow the plank without turning to right or left. These streets are unpaved, and since they are hemmed in by the sidewalks and have little or no incline, they become a real sewer and an abomination during a part of the year. Those streets which start from the riverbank and cut straight across the city, greatly resemble lagoons, after a heavy shower of rain. They have, however, a

slight drainage, not toward the river, but toward the opposite direction, in toward the back part of the city, the depression of the land being in proportion to its distance from the river, the surface of the latter being the highest part of the colonial horizon. As to its public buildings, there are no others than that of the town house or cabildo, which is one story in height and of brick, and the parish church, also of brick. Both are located together on a site lying along the river. That was the only site in this city, burned twice as stated above, which, during those frightful and fatal catastrophes offered these miserable inhabitants, when pursued by the flames, other places of refuge than the place and empty space at the port along the river. The building in which the governor general lives is a simple one-storied structure located on the riverbank. One side of it is bounded by a narrow, shabby-looking garden in the manner of a parterre, while the other side gives on a street and is almost entirely taken up at one end by a low gallery covered with a skylight, and the rest by two enclosed yards where the kitchens and stables are located. The whole presents rather the appearance of a hostelry than the imposing abode of a government. There is no spring in this city and it is impossible for there to be one, as the country is almost without running water, with the exception of the water of the river (the only potable water there of which we have spoken above). But if there are no springs, as a compensation there is no lack of wells, and there are but few houses that do not possess one or two. Truly, the expenditure for wells is not great, for one has but to dig a shallow hole in the ground to find water. This well water, although it comes from the river, since it is made worse by its filtration through muddy ground, it neither fit to drink nor to wash clothes, and can, as a rule, only be used for the commonest purposes. To draw the water one need only dip into it with a dish. These wells are also covered for fear of accidents. What shall we say of the market-house where the flesh for the consumption of the city is sold; and of the daily market held round about that market-house near the river: except that one need absolutely not to have seen institutions of this kind that are as they should be, to take the trouble to speak of it, other than to limit oneself to saying that it is real beggarly. This city, as well as its environs, is embellished with no pleasant promenade. In place of one, there is only the public way, otherwise called the levee, which runs along the river in front of the city and outside of it; and a muddy or dusty road (according to the season) called the Bayou Road, which leads by the back part of the city to the small plantations which form the Canton of Gentilly, and others similar which form the Canton of Métaire; as well as the Grand Bayou, properly so called, where is found the canal of Carondelet, which ends at the environs of the city and by means of which lies the communication with Lake Pontchartrain with medium-sized boats. These are all that serve as promenades, and where it is stylish to go out riding when the weather is fine, either on horseback or in carriages more or less elegant, for one or two hours in the evening — not indeed to enjoy the advantages and pleasures accompanying that exercise, such as fresh-looking and well kept paths, a picturesque view, pure and healthful air

(for nothing of all this is found there), but to make a show, as I have said above, of some appearance of luxury, which for eight or ten years, despite the war, or perhaps, because of that very war and the circumstances related to it (a point we may develop later) has made sensible progress in this country. Near the center of the city is a small theater, built of native wood — another imprudent act with reference to fires. There I saw a comedy performed on my arrival in this city, and certain dramas passably presented, as well as certain second-class pieces and comic operas. The troupe which was then on the boards there was sustained by a half dozen actors and actresses who were not without talent, and who were formerly attached to the theater at Cap-Francaise in the island of San Domingo, who had become refugees in Louisiana since the upheaval in that island. Louisiana has profited in this, as well as in many other matters of the greatest importance, from the ills with which that wretched colony has been afflicted, and yet without having contributed to them, in the manner of several other countries which it is useless and beyond the question to designate here. But, through a misunderstanding of the civil and military chiefs of these countries and of the neglect of the citizens and colonists, the theater has fallen, most of the comedians and musicians are scattered, and the hall has been closely shut for some time. However, it appears that that misunderstanding now no longer exists; and that the government after an interval of two years, being installed and showing its interest in the means suitable for the reëstablishment of that theater, some persons have been trying for some time to reopen it, for better or for worse, by the reunion of the few actors and actresses remaining, and by some amateurs. Several pieces have already been given; and even the latter (the amateurs), enlivened by a glowing spark, have tried quite recently, to wear the buskin, and to give the public a trial, if not of their talents of this kind, at least of their goodwill, by the representation of the *Mort de César* [i.e., *The Death of Cæsar*]. Hence, they have vigorously stabbed that enemy to Roman freedom in the person of an aged colonist, an old military man who had resided in the country for fifty years and was still of good mien and of great corpulence, and who took the part of Cæsar. But the public, which had doubtless not at all lent itself to the theatrical illusion, did not cease to see, throughout the representation of the piece, in the heroes of ancient Rome, resuscitated at New Orleans and transferred from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Mississippi (Cæsar, Anthony, Brutus, Cassius, etc.) only such and such a person, etc. The august Melpomene has not, consequently, been eagerly welcomed here, and she has rested at the disposition of the wanton Thalia and the amorous Erato.

Here follows a description of the dance halls of New Orleans and Louisiana (see note 46), and Berquin-Duvallon [*ut supra*, 40-45] concludes his description of New Orleans as follows:

What else is there to mention in this city while we are on the subject of its buildings? I see nothing more here than its barracks and subordinate buildings; its royal or military hospital, which is no great mat-

ter; its public or charity hospital, which is much better; its Fort St. Charles which is but a fortlet, with its pretended ramparts which cost the king and private persons so heavily six or seven years ago, and which are already falling into ruins and crumbling on all sides; and its mean lanterns which, placed only at each cross-street and consisting of three small lights on winter nights, illumine for only ten paces and leave all the rest of the space in total darkness; and finally a convent of nuns — a monument to the French government, as are also the barracks and the king's warehouses. All this makes no great appearance, and can be considered only in relation to the places where those buildings are found and not otherwise. Moreover, do not look for any other public buildings, such as a bourse or meeting place for affairs of trade, post office for the colony, college library, anything, in short, that can concern the common welfare.

In the suburbs are two interesting manufactories: namely, that of two cotton mills, which are united in one shop, and everything depending on them, where a thousand pounds at least of mercantile cotton may be cleaned, baled, weighed, and delivered daily; and that of a refinery, which serves to derive profit from the inferior sugars of the colony by a new process, and which, by means of the system followed in the art, succeeds in producing a white sugar of very fine appearance. It is a useful establishment, which the country owes, as well as that of its sugar works, to the French refugees from San Domingo.

The intrinsic population of this city and the suburbs depending on it is about ten thousand persons of both sexes and all ages, of whom four thousand are whites, two or three thousand, freedmen, and the rest, slaves. In this number are not included seven or eight hundred men composing the garrison of this city, as well as those attached to the service of the royal and merchant marine, and non-resident foreigners. All objects of subsistence which the country produces have about doubled in value at New Orleans since several years back, and are daily becoming dearer, because of the constant increase in the local — and especially the foreign — population, as well as the preference which many of the inhabitants with small capital have given to the cultivation of cotton over that of rice and over the multiplication of other food products, vegetables or animal, which were formerly the object of their toil. Consequently, at present, in the market of New Orleans, a barrel of hulled rice is currently worth eight or nine piastres, a quarter barrel of maize in the ear, one piastre, a turkey, one and one-half piastre, a capon, from six escalins to one piastre, a hen, five escalins, a dozen eggs, twenty-five sols, and other things in proportion. A cask of bourdeaux wine costs at present forty piastres, because of the circumstances of the peace. It was formerly worth sixty or seventy piastres, and has been worth even one hundred. A barrel of flour is worth seven or eight piastres, and sometimes less. Rents are very high in every part of the city bordering the roadstead because of trade, but are much less elsewhere. In a word, I do not believe that a household, composed of a father, mother, several children, and

three or four servants, can get along after a year and with all expenses paid, for less than two thousand piastres only for the maintenance of necessary decency and without any superfluity.

The moneys current in this city as well as throughout the colony are: gold, the quadruple, worth sixteen piastres, the half-quadruple, worth eight piastres, and some other pieces of less value, but all very scarce; the silver, the large piastre, worth eight escalins or one hundred sous, the half piastre, worth four escalins or fifty sous, the quarter piastre or gourdin, worth two escalins or twenty-five sous, the escalin worth twelve and one-half sous, and the picaillon or half escalin worth six and one-quarter sous. However, this value of escalin is only fictitious here, inasmuch as there is no representative piece of it; nor is there any copper money. The great piastre is valued at five livres, six or seven sous tournois.

Such, then, in its present condition, is New Orleans, which would merit, if truth be told, the name of village [i.e., a large ill-built town], rather than that of city if it had greater extent. Finally, I can not give you a more precise idea of it, after what I have already said of it, than to say that it is one of the gloomiest and most disagreeable places in the world, both in its whole make-up and in its details, and in the ugly, savage appearance of its environs. This last stroke of the brush must suffice. It is, moreover, the only city in this colony, it is the capital, it is the city, par excellence, as it is called and designated by most of the colonists. . .

Nevertheless, one can not deny that New Orleans is destined to become, in course of time, one of the chief cities of North America, and perhaps the most important commercial place in the new world, if it can preserve its invaluable advantage of being the only entrepôt of trade and the central point of a country almost level and about four hundred leagues long north and south with an average width of two hundred leagues, of which the Mississippi is the only outlet, and whose great extent, fertile soil, and, in general, salubrious climate, have secure rights to an immense population, just so long as moral causes do not block and check the natural influence of physical causes in this vast region. This is the interesting and truly imposing aspect offered to the imagination on the future lot of New Orleans; and it is in this sense and under this point of view that one may think of it in anticipation, the capital of this part of the world, whose relations with the ocean are concentrated on the Mississippi.

Not only does there exist no other city, but not even a single burg, village, or hamlet, in the whole extent of Lower Louisiana, either on the banks of the river or in the several cantons far from its shores, unless one desires to compliment by the name of city or market-town the settlement of Pensacola which had the appearance of a small village when it belonged to the English, but which, since it has again fallen under the Spanish domination has only declined, and is no longer, to speak truly, more than a military post.

See also the description in Robin's *Voyages*, vol. ii, 62-96. This author describes the condition of the streets in lively colors. Of the population (p. 75) he says:

> The population of the city may reach ten or twelve thousand souls. It is composed of French especially, of Spaniards, of Anglo-Americans, of several Bohemian families, and of negroes and mulattoes, some free but the greater number slaves. Almost all of them have callings. In the new world, the cities still have few of those useless families who boast of the crime of doing nothing. The universal desire for gain makes the people despise any profession that is not lucrative. The baker, the tailor, and the cobbler are the personages; they are rich and are the equals of the most important. But beware of the man of merit who is poor. There one needs more virtue than elsewhere in order to brave misfortune. There, also, work and good management have more means and are surer of success.

Collot's account of New Orleans [*Voyage*, ii, 124-130] is chiefly interesting through its description of the military defense and fortification:

> The city of New Orleans is located on the left bank of the Mississippi, and not on an island, as many travelers have reported. At times, but only accidentally and momentarily, the district in which it is located is found to be surrounded by a channel (begun by nature and finished by art), which surrounds it as a ditch surrounds a fortified place. Thus, since this place is found, if one may so express it, mortised into the left bank, and since the part of the shore of the river follows the same direction without projecting out or interrupting that bank by a salient angle, and since the bed of the river here is neither wider nor narrower than above or below; there is nothing to indicate that that part of the land may be called an island, and still less to question whether it belongs to the left bank or not.
>
> The whole district in which the city is located, as well as that surrounding it for an indefinite distance, is level and without any bluffs or knolls or the slightest undulation, and the two banks are of the same nature.
>
> The form of the city is that of a parallelogram, divided into twelve streets, five of which run across the width, and seven across the length, all straight and very regular. Ten thousand souls, including the free men of color and the slaves, comprise the population of New Orleans. The proportion of whites there is six thousand, one thousand of whom are militiamen, and two hundred dragoons. The houses are generally of wood, except some public buildings.
>
> At the upper end of the city (facing it from the river) is to be seen the drainage canal which has been opened, and which leaves the river and connects with Lake Maurepas. It is twenty-four feet wide and eight deep. This canal supplies water for the ditch surrounding the city by means of a dam.

The defense of this place consists in five small forts and one large battery, the whole distributed as follows:

On the side facing the river and at the two ends of the city, are placed two forts . . . which look on the road and on the river. Their shape is that of a very regular pentagon, with a parapet eighteen feet thick, faced with brick, with a ditch and covered way. The ditch is eight feet deep and twenty wide. In each of these forts is a barracks, for one hundred and fifty men and one powder magazine. Twelve pieces of cannon of the caliber of twelve and eighteen, comprise their artillery.

Between these first two forts, and opposite the principal street of the city is a large battery . . . open at the gorge which plays on the river and crosses its fire with that of the two forts.

The first of these forts, that is, the one at the right, which is the more considerable, is called St. Charles, and the other St. Louis.

Behind, and [designed] to cover the city on the land side, are placed the other three forts. . . They are less considerable than the two first. One of these forts is located at each of the salient angles formed with the parallelogram forming the city, and the third is located between these two, a little forward, so as to form an obtuse angle [with them]. These three forts have no covered way and are not reënforced but only strengthened with fraises and palisaded. They each include eight pieces of cannon (whose caliber we do not know) and lodgings for one hundred men. That at the right is called Fort Bourgoyne, that at the left St. Ferdinand, and that at the center, St. Joseph.

The five forts and the battery cross their fires, one with another, and are united by a ditch forty feet wide and seven deep. From the earth of the ditch, a three-foot remblai has been constructed on the inner side [of the ditch], upon which large twelve-foot stakes have been placed very near together. Behind these stakes is a small banquette along the ditch; the earth has been thrown up in order to make the slope extremely slight and easy. By means of different communications kept open between the drainage canal and these ditches, there is always four feet of water there, even in the driest season of the year.

It can not be denied that all these forts in miniature are not well kept or well cared for; but they also resemble children's playthings, because of their small capacity, and, especially, by their ridiculous distribution, rather than fortified places; for there is not one of them that can not be assaulted, and which five hundred resolute men can not take sword in hand. Once master of one of the two chief forts – either that of St. Louis or that of St. Charles – one need not trouble himself about the others; by turning part of the cannon against the city, he would force it to capitulate under penalty of being burned within one hour and of seeing its inhabitants destroyed, since none of the forts can hold more than one hundred and fifty men. But we believe that Monsieur de Carondelet in adopting this poor system of defense, had in view rather to assure the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, than to cover the city, and in that, one can say, that he has perfectly attained his object. Such is

the misfortune of this government, of often having more to fear from enemies from within, than from those from without.

In his masterly memorial addressed to Talleyrand, about February 1, 1803, Robert R. Livingston, United States agent in France, thus describes New Orleans:

To the cession of this country but one possible objection can be raised on the part of France; it may attach a value to New Orleans which it by no means merits. The fact is, that to France, who has her choice of fixing her capital on either side of the river, New Orleans has no circumstance to recommend it. It is placed on the naked banks; it has no port, basin, or quay, for shipping; has no fortification of any strength; and is incapable of being rendered a good military position; and the houses are only of wood, subject to continual accidents. The situation was first fixed by France on account of its being on the Florida side of the river where the settlements commenced; but as it was soon found that the lands of the west side of the river were much richer, the principal part of the population is now there. The bank opposite to New Orleans is higher and better calculated for a town: it already has a strong post in Fort Leon, the most commanding position in that country; and the harbor, or rather the road, is in all things equal to that of New Orleans. As a Government house and barracks, stores, etc., must be built either at New Orleans or at Fort Leon, there can be no doubt, even if France retains both, that the latter ought to have the preference, since a regular and handsome capital could be laid out there, and in a healthier and stronger situation than at New Orleans. — Cited by Hosmer, *Louisiana Purchase*, Appendix A, 208, 209.

This city [New Orleans] in many particulars, begins to assume the appearance of an American city. It has been incorporated; as the regularity of our pavements, our night watch, our city lamps, etc., already testify, in streets where only mud and darkness and danger formerly prevailed. Our commerce also has received a new tone. We have had two banks erected here since the change of government, and ample employment for the capitals of both. And however unimportant it may appear, even the late establishment of an exchange, a convenience hitherto unknown, now gives a lively complexion to our trade; a striking contrast to the late gloomy midnight traffic in which all was contraband, and exhibiting to the observer a pleasing approximation of our commercial habits to those of the parent states. — Jeremiah Brown, *Short letter to a member of Congress* (Washington City, 1806), 5, 6.

The city is described in *Account of Louisiana*, 18, 19. The account of the public buildings is as follows:

Two very extensive brick stores, from 160 to 180 feet in length, and about 30 in breadth. They are one story high and covered with shingles.

A government house, stables and garden, occupying a front of about 220 feet on the river, in the middle of the town, and extending 336 feet back to the next street.

A military hospital.

An ill built custom house of wood, almost in ruins, in the upper part of the city, near the river.

An extensive barrack in the lower part of the city, fronting on the river, and calculated to lodge 1200 or 1400 men.

A large lot adjoining the king's stores, with a few sheds in it. It serves as a park for artillery.

A prison, town house, market house, assembly room, some ground rents, and the common about the town.

A public school for the rudiments of the Spanish language.

A Cathedral church unfinished, and some houses belonging to it.

A charitable hospital, with some houses belonging to it, and a revenue of 1500 dollars annually, endowed by an individual lately deceased.

[35] Two years after the founding of the city by Bienville an inundation compelled the building of the first rude dikes along the Mississippi. The first real levee at New Orleans was completed by Governor Perier, November 15, 1727. It was one thousand eight hundred yards long and its summit was eighteen feet wide. It was continued, although with smaller dimensions, for eighteen miles on both sides of the city. See the interesting chapter on the levees in Louisiana in *Standard History of New Orleans.*

[36] The disease of yellow fever was known also as the "disease of Siam," as it was supposed to have been introduced into the French colonies by a vessel from Siam (See: Robin's *Voyages*, vol. i, 145, *et seq.*). It was claimed by some persons that the yellow fever was first introduced into New Orleans by Americans, and point as proof to the ravages of that disease in Philadelphia in 1793. Gayarré [*History*, vol. iii, 375] repeats a report that it was first introduced in 1796. The plague, however, came by way of the south (appearing for the first time in 1767), and was apt to break out in New Orleans during the months of July, August, and September. The physicians of the city being almost totally ignorant of their profession were quite unable to contend with it. Berquin-Duvallon thinks it was due to the filth that accumulated everywhere in the city, the lack of drainage, the greater humidity caused by the brick houses which also obstructed the free passage of the air currents because of their size, the open ditches made for the fortifications, and the cutting of timber in the environs of the city. The disease was quite unknown in the country, except by contact, and was most severe on foreigners or country people. The American in New Orleans was more frequently the victim of the disease than the Frenchman, while the Spaniard suffered but rarely from it. The greater liability of Americans the above author thinks may have been

due to the change from a colder to a warmer climate, the character of their food, and their indulgence in strong liquors. See: Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 83-94; see also note 1. Of the smallpox, Berquin-Duvallon (*ut supra*, 96, 97) says:

> Smallpox, which rarely shows itself here [i.e., in Louisiana], does not commit great ravages, because of the employment of vaccination which is generally beneficial there in its result. Vaccination, nevertheless, is opposed as much as possible, both by the government and the clergy, who are guided, as they imagine by a spirit of religion, but who are led astray rather by superstitious impulses. For fourteen years that disease has not appeared here. Vaccination was introduced from the American countries located above the colony, under the most favorable auspices. Thereupon, there sprang up . . . a conflict of opinion and difference of treatment between the public on one side and the government and the church on the other, on the subject of vaccination. The former cry for it as a preservative from frightful ills, and assert that it leads that disease into its natural channels, while the latter proscribe it as an operation contrary to the ways of providence, and tending to communicate a sure sickness in order to drive out a doubtful one, and still more to propagate it.

So strong was the opposition of the Church, says the same author, and the Church was seconded by the governor, that vaccination was forbidden. But, notwithstanding the prohibition, if the disease were to show itself in force, the people would seek the relief of vaccination. See also note 6 .

> [37] The government of the colony has as chief an officer, who is governor general, civil, political, and military, of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. Such is his title. Under him, he has to aid him in his duties, a civil and political lieutenant governor and an auditor of war. Everything pertaining exclusively to the internal government of the colony, under the three heads above named, is within his [i.e., the governor's] jurisdiction and under his direction, according to the instructions established by and emanating from the king's privy council. He may issue ordinances in matters pertaining to his jurisdiction, and have them executed provisionally while awaiting the sanction of the court. In spite of the assertions of some old colonists who are not greatly satisfied with the new régime, and according to all those among them without feeling and bias, that government, although clothed with great power, does not exercise an abusive authority in this colony, and even has always been very moderate, if one excepts the first years of the Spanish régime [under Ulloa and O'Reilly], which were marked by arbitrary, tyrannical, and cruel acts, and some stormy occurrences, in which on one side the imprudent conduct of various colonists, and on the other, the extreme distrust of the governor general gave rise to troubles, occasioned the abuse of authority, and compelled that governor to take violent measures,

which, fortunately, were only on paper and not carried out, thanks to the prudence and firmness of some citizens. From that resulted a solution favorable to the public tranquillity and to colonial safety, and a sincere or political relationship between the governor general and the colonists, which sprang from that same solution.— Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 166, 167.

[38] The original of the following document in regard to the intendant's office is conserved in the Archivo Nacional, Cuba, Florida and Louisiana papers [see: Perez. *Guide to Cuban Archives* (Washington, 1907), 96].

The king having resolved to reëstablish the provincial intendancy in Louisiana [*Luysiana*], and to separate it from the government, and having appointed Don Francisco Rendon to fill that position, he has expedited the proper patents and given the orders necessary for its fulfilment. I advise your Lordship of it by order of his Majesty, for your information, and for the ends advisable for his royal service.

May God preserve your Lordship for many years. GARDOQUI.

San Lorenzo, October 30, 1793.

[Addressed: Visitor general and intendant of the island of Cuba.]

[Endorsed: Havana, February 25, 1794. Have it noted by the administration general of revenues, and by the tribunal of accounts, and have it sent to the chief accountancy of the army, so that it may be known. Send a certified copy to the secretary's office of this intendancy. VALIENTE.

[Endorsed: Copy of its original, *ut supra.* CARDENAS (rubric).]

The administrator-in-chief of finances is intendant of the royal revenues for the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, inspector of lands and estates, and, lastly, judge of admiralty and commercial matters of these provinces.

That fiscal, land, and commercial administration, weighs still less, indeed, on the colonists than does the civil and military government, whether by the amount of the imposts which are very moderate or by the manner in which they are imposed at the customs office. It is a single simple import and export duty on foreign and colonial products, and amounts to scarcely one hundred thousand piastres annually, a receipt so insufficient for the expenses of the colony that the king appropriates a sum of four or five hundred thousand piastres annually from the revenues of Mexico for the service of this colony, in order to balance and meet the amount of those same expenses.

Moreover, astonishment will be expressed that a colony whose products are yet so modest, requires a sum so considerable as that of five or six hundred thousand piastres for its yearly maintenance, that is to say, about one-half that which sufficed for the maintenance of San Domingo in its palmiest days of splendor, under the fiscal administration of Monsieur de Marbois in the years 1788 and 1789. But the answer to that is quite ready on the part of the treasury agents and their adherents in this colony; namely, that such an expense, so considerable as it seems to be at

first glance, is nevertheless slight, because of the extent of the frontiers, to the maintenance of which a great part of that expense is consecrated. And, according to them, what really is the outlay of some hundreds of thousands of piastres appropriated for the maintenance of and the efficient status of so vast and extensive a frontier as is the cordon of Upper and Lower Louisiana and West Florida? It is not even, by a large amount, one piastre per league of the land to conserve. And surely the Spanish government will not protest against an expense so limited in comparison with the immensity of the soil of which it assures the possession, and on the contrary can only praise the extreme moderation of its agents. According to them, then, nothing better. But it must be viewed from all sides also, and in that, as in everything else, set forth the pros and cons.

Hence, we shall not conceal the fact that this vast and immense cordon of frontiers is defended throughout its whole extent from the Appalachians to the Illinois by only seven military posts, exclusive of the capital, and by a small number of galleys; that all told they do not occupy more than two thousand effective men who can be really said to be employed in military service; that besides, neither these posts nor these galleys offer even a slightly imposing preparation for defense, but they do all offer, instead, to their commandants, resources of jobbing and commerce rather than occasions of showing forth their military or nautical talents. Consequently, there is not an officer — infected with the spirit of self interest and eager for the quarry, be it understood (for all are not of that kidney) — who does not burn and is not delighted to occupy, especially, one of these posts or kind of fort, the command of which is for him at once a marshall's baton and a horn of abundance, and procures him after several years' incumbency therein, a solid fortune and the gifts of Plutus in default of the laurels of Mars — a lucrative compensation by which he bounds his ambition.

There are also other expenses attached to the maintenance of this colony, and one notably which seems to be peculiar to it — namely, that which results from the kind of contribution or tribute which the Spanish government pays annually to various savage tribes who live in the interior of the colony. That contribution consists of coarse cloths, hunting muskets, powder and lead, vermilion, and some other small trifles. It amounts in all, according to the treasury agents, to the value of forty thousand piastres annually. — Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 168-171.

The following is abstracted from *Account of Louisiana*, pp. 41-45: the intendant was the chief of the financial and commercial departments and was independent of the governor. The contador, with four clerks, kept all accounts and documents respecting receipts and disbursements. The treasurer was a cashier and was allowed one clerk. The interventor superintended all public purchases and bargains. The administrador managed customs house matters. No

local taxes were collected, but instead each inhabitant was bound to make and repair roads, bridges, and levees. Export and import duties of six per cent were charged. Two per cent was paid on legacies and inheritances, in excess of $2,000; and four per cent on legacies to persons not related to the testator. The *media annata* or tax on salaries for civil offices, and amounting to one-half the first year's salary, was also paid. The expenses of government under the Spanish régime amounted to about $650,000. These expenses included the pay and support of the military; repair of public buildings and fortifications; maintenance of royal galleys; presents for the Indians; and salaries of officials and clergy and other public servants. About $400,000 was annually sent from Vera Cruz as a subsidy to help meet the expenses. This sum, however, together with the sum collected from duties and taxes generally left a deficit of $100,000 or $150,000 for which certificates were issued to those to whom money was owing. The debt, which bore no interest, amounted in 1802, to about $450,000 and had depreciated thirty per cent. Much of this debt was due to Americans. The Duc de Choiseul wrote to Ossun, September 20, 1762, that Louisiana cost 8,000 livres annually and yielded nothing (Shepherd's *Cession of Louisiana to Spain*, Boston, 1904, p. 447, published in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xix, no. 3) so that the Spanish subsidy was by no means new.

[39] A fruitless attempt was made by the Capuchin Antonio Sedella to establish the Inquisition in Louisiana. Governor Miró, to whom he communicated his commission, immediately had him arrested and sent him to Spain, so that the attempt failed. See Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 269-271.

[40] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 255-275] treats at length of the slave population:

> We are now come to the slave class, the negroes, negresses, etc. — the most numerous and the least fortunate of the three [classes of population]. Those native to the country, or born in some other European colony and transferred here, are the most clever and intelligent, the least subject to chronic maladies, as well as the laziest, most rascally, and the most debauched. Those who come from Guinea are less fit for domestic service, or for the mechanical arts, are more limited, are more often the victims of serious maladies, or of debility (especially during the first years of their transplanting), but more robust, more industrious, more suitable for the work of agriculture, and less rascally and less libertine than the former. Such are the distinctions between the two classes. As to the rest they resemble each other greatly, physically and morally. . .
>
> [The negro slave of Louisiana] possesses generally all the defects

attached to slavery. He is, especially, lazy, libertine, and a liar, but he is not bad through and through. Nevertheless, judging from the tone of effrontery which is common enough here among their fellows, their ordinary words, and even a certain character, in general, less flexible, but harsher and more decided than that of the negroes of the Antilles (which must be attributed both to the climate and to the form of government and the policy of the regions), one may legitimately assume that a political shaking up in this country of the nature of that experienced in the French colonies would bring much more fatal results here, as the negroes here appear to me to be (as I have just said) much more ready for a general insurrection than they were in San Domingo at the time of the revolutionary crisis. And probably mischievous persons, of every kind and color, would not be lacking to lead them in such a general chaos, and carry them forward to terrible and incalculable deeds, provided that circumstances would at such a time be as favorable for that moral upheaval here as at San Domingo in those disastrous times. But fortunately for this country this can not at all be admitted.

The negroes, although subject to the work they follow, are not at all overworked except at the time of the sugar making in the refineries for the space of two or three months. At that time the amount of work is not really proportionate to the number of hands, who are then overworked night and day, proportionately to their number. It will doubtless be agreed that a gang of forty negroes, attending to the manufacture of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of sugar and as many hogsheads [i.e., 120] of syrup, in the short space of the two cold, foggy, rainy months of November and December, with all the difficulties and various obstructions that result from the severity of the season, and from the short days and long nights, has scarcely any time to yawn vacantly or to sleep, and must hustle [*bien se manier*] as they say here, during that time. It is true that they are better fed, and according to the colonial expression, by hand. At all other times and in all other kinds of agriculture, it is not the same. The labor in other work is not so excessive, but neither is the food so plentiful.

In a country that does not possess the resources of the Antilles, and that abundance of different kinds of food, always in season, such as bananas, casava root, potatoes, yams, Indian kale or *malangas*, palm cabbages, rice, maize, millet, peas and beans of all kinds, etc., and where the negro has no other sure food than rice, maize, and a small brown bean, the regular monthly ration of each negro is composed solely of the value of one barrel of maize in the ear. For maize is the only food, the harvests of which are sufficiently plentiful in this country, so that the sustenance necessary for the slaves of the colony can be obtained from it. The rice, beans, and potatoes would be sufficient to feed but a quarter of them, unless plantations of those products were greatly increased, to the detriment of the chief agricultural products — a course to which the inhabitants would not be disposed. Some of the inhabitants add a little salt to that maize ration, but that is all.

The negro, during the hours reserved for him, must busy himself in husking, shelling, pounding, sifting, or rather washing that maize, according to their various methods of preparation, which it still remains for him to cook with wood which he must procure for himself. Moreover, he must be in the fields from dawn till noon, winter and summer. When he goes thither in the morning, he takes his breakfast with him, which he eats between eight and nine o'clock, at the place of his occupation. The work for the master is suspended at noon for two hours of rest, after which it is resumed and maintained steadily until the approach of night, under the supervision, either of the master or of his manager, and under the lash of a negro overseer.

The good negro, during the two hours of rest granted him, does not lose his time. He goes to work at a bit of the land which he has planted with provisions for his own use, while his companion, if he has one, busies herself in preparing some food for him, herself, and their children. For, I have noticed that in this colony, the children of the slaves are not specially fed by their masters as they are in the Antilles, but that their fathers and mothers are charged with it, by means of a half ration of maize for each child, reckoned only from the day of his weaning — the mother's milk, although she is confined to her ordinary labors, being judged sufficient to nourish him until that time. This is an increase of the troubles and pains of those unfortunate beings.

In the evening, one and all having retired into their cabins, after they have prepared and eaten a very frugal repast (which nevertheless, keeps them awake very late) they go to rest, with the exception of some night prowlers, who, for lack of women among them (since the number of negresses in this colony is greatly disproportionate to that of the negroes, there being, as a rule, three men to one woman), go elsewhere to seek good adventures. Sometimes they find bad adventures in the chance meeting with a patrol of the neighboring inhabitants, who takes them in and sends them back next morning to their gangs, after a more or less severe correction. However, the memory of that punishment is soon effaced, because of their moral disposition and because the need of nature is still more powerful in them than the lasting effect of the punishment.

Their usual food is maize or a little rice or beans boiled in water and almost always without grease or salt. To this they add at times a small bit of wild game which they have had the skill to kill in the open field or in the woods, and in the choice of which they are not particular. They gladly eat lynx, a sort of half wolf or large fox, *chaouy*, another species of small wild animal, wild cats and wood rats, squirrels and even crocodiles [i.e., alligators]. They leave deer and rabbits to the whites, and sell those animals to them when they kill them.

They also rear fowls and hogs, but they do not eat them; or rather, to speak more truly, only taste them. It is too delicate for them. They prefer to make money from them, as well as from the eggs [of the fowls] in order to procure either some clothing or something else more to their

liking — especially a small amount of sugarcane brandy, or taffia, of which they are usually greedy. To such a degree [is this true] that if one wishes prompt and vigorous action from them, instead of the whip, he has but to promise a dash — that is to say, three fingers — of that favorite liquor to any one, and he will make him fly through flames by this means. Smoking or chewing tobacco is also one of their particular likings.

As their only garment for the whole year, they are given a modest wool covering, which is given to each one of them at the beginning of winter. They make a sort of mantle or cape of this, which covers them from the head to below the thighs during the rigorous season. And yet, would one believe that their masters are so niggardly and stingy as to shorten their two hours of rest by a half hour from All Saints' to Easter, as a compensation for the short days during that period; and to retain and deduct besides, even the price of the woolen covering which they give to each one — much as Monsieur Guillaume gives his cloth — a thing worth three piastres at the most, either from the Sundays, the disposition of which the colonial ordinances assures to those unfortunate beings, or from their daily two hours, or from any other thing that can replace the value of that important article and serve to reimburse these generous Louisianians for such an advance, for the profit of whom, notwithstanding, their poor slaves work from one end of the year to the other without any emolument or any benefit whatever.

Their smoke-filled cabins are built of cypress posts and planks placed side by side, and through which the wind and rain penetrate. In this regard there comes to my pen a little anecdote, which in itself is very slight, but the recital of which can not fail to interest every sensitive soul, while at the same time it offers a new proof of the profound indifference of the colonists of Louisiana toward everything that smacks of humanity. . . Several persons, of whom I was one, taking advantage of one of those magnificent days that sometimes beautify the winter in Louisiana were walking at the close of day in the interior of a plantation. As we were crossing what is improperly called *the camp* in this country — the place where the negro cabins are located, slightly separated one from the other — one of the company said "Come, let us visit the centenarian." He approached the door of a small hut, where a moment later I saw an old Senegal negress appear so decrepit that she was bent double and obliged to lean against the boards of her cabin in order to receive the company about her door. Besides she was almost deaf, but her eyesight was still fairly good. She was in the most extreme deprivation, as everything about her gave good evidence; for she scarcely had rags enough to cover her and but a few fagots to keep her warm in a season whose severity is so sensitive for old age, and especially so for the black race. We found her busy boiling a little rice in water for her supper; for she received no regular subsistence from her master, although her advanced age and her former services demanded it. She was moreover, abandoned and quite alone, and in that state of liberty which

her exhausted nature had obliged her master to leave her, and to which, consequently, she was more indebted than to them. I must inform the reader that, independently of her long services, that woman, almost a centenarian, had formerly nursed two white children with her own milk, who had attained full growth and died before her. They were the own brothers of one of her masters who was then with us. The old slave saw the latter and calling him by his name familiarly (as is the custom of the Guinea negroes), with an air of good nature and simplicity, truly affecting: "Come now," said she, "when art thou going to mend the roof of my cabin? It rains inside the same as out." The master lifted his eyes toward the roof, which was within reach of his hand. "I will attend to it," said he. "Thou wilt attend to it? Thou always tellest me that, and nothing is done." "Hast thou not thy children (two negroes of the gang, her grandsons), who could very easily fix thy cabin? Art thou not their grandmother?" "And thou, art thou not their master; and art thou not my son thyself? Come," added she, taking him by the arm and leading him into the cabin, "enter, and see the roof for thyself. O have pity, my son, on the aged Irrouba, and at least have the place above her bed fixed. That is all I ask of thee, and the good God will repay thee." These last words were uttered by her in a tone so expressive and so touching, that I for my part was moved to the bottom of my heart. And what was that bed of which she spoke, and the roof overhead, which she begged might at least be mended, in order to shelter her from the rain during her hours of rest? Alas! three planks roughly laid on two cross boards, on which was spread as a couch, that sort of plant, a parasite of the country, called "Spanish beard" [i.e., Spanish dagger]. Such was the resting place of that interesting old woman, who was still gay in the midst of the most extreme misery and at so advanced an age. The master laughing mockingly reiterated to her his promise to have the cabin fixed — a promise that has, perhaps, had no other effect than before — and the company withdrew. . .

The punishments generally inflicted on the negroes in this colony are, as elsewhere, fetters and the lash, according to the nature of the crime. And in regard to this, it can not be said that in many cases they are treated cruelly, or even with too much severity. For instance, a theft, which would bring its author to the galleys in Europe, and sometimes even to the gibbet, according to the importance of the crime or to the accompanying circumstances, brings to the negro who commits it only the punishment of the lash, and an iron collar about his neck. . .

In last analysis and after due deliberation, the lot of the negro slave in Louisiana does not seem to me nearly as mild as it was among his fellows in San Domingo before the revolution, both because of the climate — the severity of which for four months of the year injures the physique of a being destined to live in the torrid zone — and in relation to the food, clothing, and work, and to all, finally, that concerns him, especially, to his favorite passion, that for women, which he cannot satisfy as he would like in a country like this where one finds about four

negroes to one negress, and where one sees many gangs composed of twenty-five men and five or six women. Hence, in the negroes of this country, one does not find that same innate gayety, and that joyous disposition, which are shown by joyful songs or words in the very midst of their labors, and by dances accompanied by loud bursts of laughter, during their hours of rest, as has been observed frequently at San Domingo. Here, the negro is centered in himself, and lays aside his profound stupor and his melancholy, only by imbibing taffia which he drinks with relish; and even then his bacchanalian vivacity degenerates rather into a spirit of quarrelsomeness than into sallies of gayety.

The usual languages of the negro slaves, as well as a great number of the freedmen of Louisiana is a patois derived from the French. It bears much resemblance to that used by their fellows in the French islands of America. A portion of the freedmen and of the slaves occupied here in domestic service, speak as good French as their masters; but this is not saying that the French is very pure.

Their most common maladies are light fevers in spring, more violent ones in summer, dysentery in autumn, and inflammation of the lungs in winter. But, in last analysis, the mortality list among them is not very considerable, and appears to be balanced by the births, or at least very nearly so. The proof of this follows. The trade has never supplied many negroes here, and now for ten years none have come. Nevertheless, the gangs, with some very slight diminution, have been sustained to this time by the births which have supplied in great part, the vacancies occasioned by death. It is true that the gangs are in general too small now, in proportion to the existing cultivation, and that the need to introduce new negroes is very much felt here for that reason.

Perrin du Lac [*Voyage*, 410, 411] comments as follows regarding the slaves:

In Lower Louisiana, the negroes are very poorly fed. Each one receives per month only a barrel of maize in the ear, which amounts to only a third of a barrel in grain. Moreover, many of the owners take off a part of that ration. They must obtain the rest of their food, as well as their clothing, from the results of their Sunday labors. If they do not do it, then they are liable to stay naked during the harsh season. Those who supply them with clothing force them to labor for them on days of rest, until they have been reimbursed for their advances. During the entire summer, the negroes are not clothed. The natural parts are concealed only by a bit of cloth which is fastened at the girdle before and behind, and which has kept in all of North America where the French live, the name of *braguet* [i.e., breechcloth]. In winter they generally wear a shirt and a woolen covering made in the form of a surtout. The children often stay naked until they reach the age of eight, when they begin to render some service.

Concerning the morals, etc., of the negroes, he adds [*ut supra*, 411, 412]:

I am not ignorant that the negroes are far from resembling other men; that they can be led neither by mildness nor by their sentiments; that they mock those who treat them mild; that they resemble the brute in their moral nature, as much as man in their physical constitution; but let us at least take the same care of them that we do of the quadrupeds that serve us; let us feed them so that they can work well; and let us not exact anything from them beyond their faculties or their strength. Negroes are generally knavish, lazy, thievish, and cruel. It is useless to add that all are at heart hostile to the whites. . . But what one finds difficult to understand is the brutality and aversion of the free blacks for those of their kind. If they succeed in owning slaves, they treat them with a barbarity that nothing can approach. They feed them even worse than do the whites, and load them with work. Fortunately their fondness for idleness and drunkenness keeps them in a condition of mediocrity, from which they seldom emerge.

And regarding the free negroes, he says [*ut supra*, 412-414]:

Although the free negroes lose very little of their hatred for the whites, they are yet far from being so dangerous as are the mulattoes. The latter, who apparently share in the vices of the two races, as they share it in their color, are evil, vindictive, treacherous, and the enemies alike of the blacks whom they despise, and of the whites whom they hold in horror. Cruel even to barbarity toward the first they are always ready to seize the opportunity to turn their arms against the second. Fruit of the libertinage of their fathers, from whom nearly all of them receive their freedom, and a very careful education, they are far from being thankful for it. They would like to be treated as legitimate children, and the difference that is placed between them [and the latter] makes them hate even the authors of their being. . . As to the men of color . . . it would probably be very useful to form colonies in some uninhabited parts of the continent. That measure would be doubly useful: it would free the colonies of those beings by whom they will be sooner or later annihilated; and would decrease that gross taste of the whites for their slaves which is the ruin of society and the prime cause of the sparse population of the country which they inhabit.

See also Robin's *Voyages*, 162-231, on the subject of slaves and slavery. He describes in detail the punishments inflicted by the creoles, and states that the women were worse than the men. In an interesting section, he discusses, with examples, the curious French patois of the slaves. Also [*ut supra*, vol. ii, 112, 113] he says:

The price of negroes at New Orleans is dearer than it has been in any colony. This is because the fear born of the insurrection of San Domingo has rendered the importation of that *merchandise* extremely difficult, and there is so much land to cultivate that no one has enough negroes. Also they are hired out for a dearer figure here than at Martinique even. A negress is hired out per month for twelve or fifteen piastres, and at

Martinique for only six or eight. . . Negroes are hired out still dearer. Those who have trades and who are good workmen, gain twenty or thirty piastres per month for their masters. A new negro [*nègre brute*], that is to say one coming from Africa, is sold for four or five hundred piastres; and a creole negro with talents is sold for as much as a thousand or fourteen hundred piastres.

See *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, vol. ii, 127-133 for the qualities of negroes considered in their bearing on slavery.

[41] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 201-247] describes the creoles of Louisiana at length. His account is in great part reproduced below in translation, as it reflects one point of view that might readily be taken by an European of conditions which he understood only in part. Undoubtedly this author is too severe in many of his strictures – a fact that is apparent by comparing his account with the accounts of contemporary writers – and at times his love for irony and sarcasm may have caused him to make statements that might have been more restrained in moments of greater reflection. Again, several unfortunate occurrences may have led him to formulate as a general characteristic what was after all the exception. Yet, in general, there is a certain degree of truth in his assertions, and it is for the reader to strike the correct balance. In common with many men he has seen unlikable qualities in too strong a perspective, so that at times other qualities are quite obscured. In great part he has failed to grasp fully the significance of colonial life, and its conditions on the one hand acted upon by European influences and on the other by the surroundings and necessities of a new life in a virgin land – a blending of the old and new. The first might in some ways conduce to a cheap imitation, and yet would make toward refinement. The second might show boastfulness, selfishness, roughness, and coarseness, but would develop hardiness and self reliance. There is discernible in the Louisiana of this period an increasing solidarity of interests that was not French, but distinctively Louisianian; and it is this that was evidently not understood by contemporary writers. However, if read with discretion, Berquin-Duvallon's account offers a piquant and interesting view of life in Louisiana at the time of the transfer. It will be found useful to compare his account with that by Henry Adams of life in the United States at this period.

The creoles of Louisiana, men and women, are in general of medium figure, and fairly well built, but thickset rather than slender. With little color, yet they have not a leaden complexion. They are blonde rather

than brunette (with the exception of a few creoles of the city born of Spanish parents) and their hair is usually blonde in infancy, either remains so or becomes chestnut afterwards.

The women of this country who may be included among the number of those whom nature has especially favored, have a skin, which without being of extreme whiteness, is still beautiful enough to constitute one of their charms; and features, which, although not very regular, form an agreeable whole; a very pretty throat; a stature that indicates strength and health; and (a peculiar and distinguishing feature) lively eyes full of expression, as well as a magnificent head of hair.

Such is, about, the exterior description of the pretty women of this country, which does not furnish them abundantly, whatever be said, and where beautiful women, moreover, are very scarce. And, as in common to the sex, one may omit any special mention of them: these are women, and that is all.

In the last analysis, and that I may give you a proper idea in this regard, I shall observe that in a circle of twenty young women or girls, there will be most frequently, ten that are middling, five ugly, four pretty, and scarcely one, beautiful. Moreover, in the women of this country, in general, is found little address, few graces, little of some indescribable quality made to be felt and not defined. Besides, the sound of their voices is shrill and piercing, little befitting the fair sex, and anything less than pleasing to the ear which is not accustomed to it. We have yet to observe that the face — that mirror of the soul — proclaims in both sexes more simplicity than goodness, more conceit than haughtiness, more cunning than penetration, and is, as a rule, neither spiritual nor distinguished. For the rest, few creoles are to be seen in this colony (men or women) who are afflicted with bodily imperfections — such as cripples, hunchbacks, etc. But all of them are apt to lose their teeth early, as we observed in speaking of the influence of the climate. Some of them have contracted skin diseases, such as eruptions, gall, and even leprosy — evils that it is said were unknown before the residence of Spaniards in this country.

Such is their physical nature. For their moral nature, there is much more to say. Some preliminary observations, which are relative to it, lead us to the examination and development of that essential quality.

Louisiana from its beginning until the present has always been a colony more or less poor, and will always be so, considered as a whole, both because of the few resources offered by its swampy soil where there are only small portions of land isolated and scattered here and there, or enclosed in narrow limits, which can be inhabited and cultivated, and because of its position. [The latter is] unfavorable to foreign commerce, [as it is] in the back part of the Gulf of Mexico, across districts, lacking in security and dangerous of access. Moreover it offers only one entrepôt of trade thirty-five leagues from the almost obstructed mouth of a river which is the only highway of navigation whereby one may reach the settlements of this colony, and which can be ascended, moreover, only slowly and with difficulty.

This country, wretched in itself, has as its first colonists only people destitute of fortune (French or Germans). These, having arrived poor, have remained so, or at least have been reduced to a very circumscribed condition of mediocrity — with the exception of a few government agents or commercial monopolists. Such was the situation of this colony under the French government, a situation that has become ameliorated only in the most recent period and since the colony has become Spanish, by means of the contraband trade which the English engaged in on the river, where they owned some settlements; and more recently yet, since the war which has just ended. This war calling here more freely than elsewhere, because of the possessions of the United States on the upper river, the American flag and the commerce of that country, has maintained here and even increased the agriculture which that condition of war destroyed and paralysed in so many other places. This colony, before those recent periods just mentioned, was then in a state of languor and distress, and as if separated from the rest of the world; so much so, that once in France, if one wished to express proverbially the end of the world, he designated the Mississippi. Since the Spanish government has owned it, it has advanced a trifle, it is true, from that weak and languishing condition, on account of the aid of the considerable sums that that government has spent, in favor of its foreign trade, and thanks to circumstances. But in spite of all those advantageous accessories, and all those united means, the ease and still less opulence centered among a few government employees, merchants, and inhabitants have never spread, and to this day the colonists here are in general poor.

From what I have just said, it results that the creoles of this country, almost all of whom sprung from parents of low extraction, who had come to seek their fortunes in this part of the world and had not found it, and reared, in consequence, in ignorance, poverty, and grossness, have necessarily preserved the imprint of that birth, except a few whom their parents, either being well born or having been polished by a little leisure, have been able to have reared in Europe. Consequently, with almost this sole exception, and this is strongly marked in this country, most of the creoles in Louisiana possess the vices and defects belonging, in general, to the manner in which they were reared. They are gross, envious, selfish, greedy, presumptuous, scoffers, hardhearted, insincere, caustic, talkative, and, above all that, ignorant to the last degree (many can not even read or write), and are quite satisfied with their ignorance — to such a degree that they much prefer to handle a hunting gun than a pen, and to paddle a pirogue than to approach a desk. One of those whom I am describing said naively before me one day, that the surest way of putting him to sleep was to open a book. Another had such an antipathy for whatever emanated from the typographical art, that it was sufficient to present with a single loose sheet, a simple gazette, in order to embarrass him on the spot and make him scamper off as fast as he could. A third, on the contrary, who greatly loved to read, and who gave himself up to it ardently, it is true, passed, for I saw him, as a kind of madman and crackbrained. In a word, a library in this country, is, I think, about as rare as the

phenix; and whether in city or country there is found no collection of a few assorted books except among a few Frenchmen settled in the colony.

I am going, in this connection, to cite a fact of but little importance, but characteristic of what I have just said. A governor general of French nation and origin, Monsieur de Carondelet, some years ago, thought fit to permit the establishment of a press at New Orleans, for the publication of a gazette – that entitled the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* – in which were to be inserted various news concerning commerce, agriculture, or other matters of public utility, as well as a paragraph devoted to public news. Our creoles are generally very curious and especially greedy for foreign news. That sheet, moreover, is excellently edited. It was to be expected that after all that there would be a great number of subscribers for that colonial sheet. Well, what resulted? Listen! I have it from the editor himself that never from the first publication of that sheet to this day, has it been able to reach the number of twenty-five subscribers at one time, and most of them are Europeans or foreigners. Parsimony on one side, distaste for reading on the other, there you have what kept our creoles off. Now by this characteristic you can imagine the rest. Moreover, one must indeed believe that if the Spanish government did not find the taste for literature established in this country, it has not at least been introduced here by it. . .

The creoles live isolated on their plantations, and have little connection or intercourse with one another, not even among those united by ties of blood. They see one another, as they say, only by fits and starts. That manner of living in isolation, which is not, besides, beautified and tempered, either by the charms of literature or by the pleasures that belong to an agreeable country, to picturesque and attractive sites, to rural amusements, is very tiresome at all events. In spite of that, the creoles of Louisiana (I mean those who have never left the locality) are infatuated to an incredible degree with their sad and monotonous country or, at least, pretend that they are, and attribute to it special charms. . . In this regard and in order to give an idea of their infatuation for whatever proceeds from them and of their exaggeration on this head, I shall content myself with recounting the conversation of a creole of this place, a man of mature age, but as mad over his country as a beggar over his wallet. The question lately came up at a gathering of the near arrival of the French, and some one remarked apropos of that that perhaps they would also see some pretty French citizenesses, who because of wearing the latest styles of the capital and having the refinement of adornment, would present models of that kind to the native women. "Say, rather," eagerly and very seriously interrupted our good and enthusiastic creole, "that our women will be seen to serve them as models in the art of dressing, as in all else." Thus, then, to follow [the reasoning of] our man, the wild banks of the Mississippi were about to eclipse the smiling banks of the Seine, and the elegant Parisienne would have naught better to do than to conform to the tastes and manners of the stiff and stilted Louisianian women.

Our creoles, furthermore, proudly talk of the extent of their families,

and of a mob of relatives whom they never see for years at a time, although they often live only a few leagues apart. And if any of them happen to die, it is the custom among them for all the relatives, even to the seventh degree, to wear mourning for a more or less time as a veritable testimonial of grief for a person who while in life was almost unknown to most of his numerous kin, and toward whom not one of them, in fact, would have been then disposed to act in a manner that could be of advantage to him.

Indifferent to whatever is not personal, and egoistic to the last degree, they think only of themselves and not at all of others. Caustic and familiarly coarse with their equals, exacting toward their inferiors, harsh to their slaves, inhospitable to strangers, their conduct and their bearing one toward another are based on their feelings and are ruled by them. That variety of feelings has its source in their self love and in their personal selfishness, which are the powerful motives of almost all their actions, even the most indifferent in appearance, but which are so no longer when analysed.

What still remains to be observed in them is their truly remarkable and original conduct toward whomever arrives in their country for the first time. Extremely fond of novelty, as we have observed, they bear themselves with a certain passion, subordinated to their interests. A newly-arrived stranger seems to them to be at once an extraordinary being and a kind of possession which they enjoy in their manner. They examine him from head to foot; they compliment him; they court him; and were he a blockhead, pure and simple, or a real Midas, he is not less considered by those loungers of the Mississippi, during the first days of his sojourn, and so long as he has for them the charm of novelty. But soon after, that stranger, now no longer a stranger to them (even though he be a man of rare and transcendent worth) will appear to those same people a mere worthless being, an obscure personage, unless, indeed, he make a great figure and display an opulence which overawes them, and which although it excites their envy, yet attracts their regard. Otherwise, if he be without that mighty means of consideration, and after the charm of novelty has worn away, a stranger falls in their eyes, I do not say into nothingness, but into a disfavor still worse than nothingness, because of the annoying consequences that might result therefrom for him and show how far ugly inhospitality is urged here. Then in some manner can be applied the fable of the dying lion which became the butt of the blows of every animal, and which finally received a kick from an ass. There is no little scamp of a creole in this savage colony, who has never been out of sight of the shores of the Mississippi, and who has never drank other water than that of this river, who does not consider himself authorized, by the example of the chief men among them, and like the ass in the fable, to insult an unfortunate stranger — I mean even a Frenchman, a colonist like himself, escaped from the upheaval and massacres of San Domingo, and a refugee in this country with some little remnants of his fortune — and that, because the scamp is in his own coun-

try and the stranger away from his; and because the former knows he is encompassed and sustained, while the other is here alone, and rather annoyed than protected by those entrusted with public authority. In this regard, I shall content myself by recounting an anecdote that happened, so to say, before my eyes.

A negress, a servant of a foreign family, who had rented a country house two leagues from the city, presented herself armed with a written permission from her master to the proprietor of a neighboring plantation, a creole of the country. Showing him her permission, she asked leave to be allowed to sell some trifles, as is the custom among negroes, in the cabins of his slaves — a permission which it is not usual to refuse, and which, it is true, she received verbally. She went thither twice, but the third time she was arrested at seven o'clock in the evening, by the overseer of the plantation, the insolent minister of the petty despot who owned the plantation — both Germans, one by birth, and the other by ancestry, and both as brutal as Germans (as badly reared Germans, be it understood). The poor negress in vain claimed her double permission — both that of her master and that of the master of the plantation where she was. Her complaint was in vain and nothing served her for defense. The German overseer made her lie flat on the ground with her skirts thrown back over her loins, and had twenty-five lashes applied to her bare buttocks. It is true that the negro overseer, to whom that duty had been entrusted, more humane than her white tormentor, and profiting by the darkness of the night which was beginning to fall, had the skill to make nearly all the blows fall on the earth — almost like Sancho proceeding to the disenchantment of Dulcinea. After that she was sent away.

The master of that negress having heard from her of that disgraceful act of violence, sent his son next morning to complain of the overseer of that habitant. The latter with a coarse leer and an air of satisfaction, answered that his overseer acted according to his orders and had done well. Thereupon the young man told him heatedly that such a manner of procedure towards a neighbor and especially a stranger, who had done nothing to incite it, was unworthy a gentleman and blameworthy on all sides. The other answered angrily, if not in these words, at least in their equivalent: "Let your father complain where he pleases. What good will it do him? I have lived thirty years in the colony; he has only lived two." Of a surety, he could well say he had lived thirty years in the colony, for that boor had been born there and had never left it. After the atrocity of his proceeding, he could not better have crowned the work than by those last words. They depict well the condition of things in this country, and the respect paid to resident foreigners. . .

I shall not tax the creoles of Louisiana with cowardice. However, during that war, now happily ended some little time since, among the numerous, poor, unoccupied young men living in the colony, with the exception of seven or eight creoles, who are the ones who sought distraction for their profound laziness, either by way of trade or at least by

driving off in armed vessels the petty corsairs who infested their coasts, as was done by the creoles of the Windward Islands and notably those of Martinique whenever they could navigate and fight under their national flag? At the very least then, the creoles of Louisiana can be accused of negligence in that respect; and one can believe them to be without energy and real patriotism, although subject to a government which has been intimately allied to France for six years and has made common cause with that country; for all that they boast loudly of being good Frenchmen at heart, and of having even until now shared in heart and spirit in the successes of France and the triumph of its revolution.

Really, and in consequence (as I have room to surmise) of the kind of government by which this colony has always been ruled, whether during the French régime or since the Spaniards have owned it, the native creoles have been for the most part without moral energy, and do not appear susceptible of any other profound sentiment than that which concerns their own personal interest. That alone is capable of rousing them, and of elating them. And after that, what can be the measure of their pretended patriotism and of the attachment that they affect to France their former fatherland?

Have they not been seen at first after an ebullition of spirit which announced extreme measures and presaged a violent explosion, take voluntarily upon their necks the yoke brought them by the ferocious Orelli [i.e., O'Reilly], when (by their own avowal) they could easily have driven him from their country, together with his satellites; and allowed their unfortunate countrymen (in part the victims of their blind confidence in their cowardly fellow citizens) to be sacrificed unworthily and in the deep silence of terror, under their very eyes and in their own homes? Have they not been seen some years ago, after having been mechanically aroused, after having been organized into various bands, and finally after having given feasts, where before their slaves the imbeciles sang French hymns, in which are celebrated the rights of man, at the tops of their voices, and with inconceivable imprudence — have they not been seen, I say, after that vain display and after that clamorous uproar, quite suddenly draw in their horns and range themselves under the ferule of the Spanish government like a flock of sheep under their shepherd's crook, as soon as they felt, after a few dull movements, and after a few partial stirrings of their slave gangs that the novelty by which they had been infatuated, could make as much impression on the spirit of that class of men under their power and warm the head of the slave as well as that of the master?

And even now, at this the most interesting and memorable period in the world's history — that, in short, of the general peace of the old world and the new, both of which were tormented and torn for nine consecutive years by a bloody war — what lively and deep sensation has been produced in this colony by the news which reached here two months ago, and which was of a nature suitable to transport all sensitive hearts, and especially all good and true French hearts, with joy and hap-

piness? A vague interest, a fluctuation of ideas, all linked with their personal interests — in short, a kind of stupor which holds them in check, and has caused them to receive, so to say, surlily the news which France and its colonies have welcomed with expressions and outpourings of the greatest joy — this is all that can quite easily be observed among the colonists of Louisiana at this moment. All here is sadness, coldness, and silence, both in city and country on the part both of business men and habitans. No rejoicings, no public or private fêtes consecrated to the celebration of this happy event — in spite of its being the season of balls and of the theater (the carnival), which is the only time when the people of this country amuse themselves a little, and when they generally lay aside the apathetic and wearisome life that they lead at all other times. Besides this season has been longer and more favorable to their accustomed pleasures this year than in those preceding. It even appears that the news produced a sensation so little agreeable here that it has caused the miscarriage of some private fêtes which had been projected for a long time in advance for the present carnival, during which absolutely not one single fête has been given, especially in the country, where no winter passes in which many are not given.

The merchants, almost all of whom are English, American, or French, agents of one another, see in the future a change hurtful to their interests; and the habitans, who to the news join the rumor circulating here of the cession of this colony by Spain to France, and who would not like to become French again, except under advantageous conditions by gaining in exchange, as one says, a sure thing, and who now are well aware of all that has taken place in the French colonies, the inevitable and sad result of the new principles adopted by the mother country, are weary and fear greatly (in what concerns the internal régime of the colony, and because of those principles and their results, which do not at all square with the spirit of egoism and personal interest which forms the essence of their character) lest this change of government bring in a change in the colonial system, in case that France, before this epoch, should not depart entirely from those same principles. Such is, in this regard, and thus far, the mode of seeing and thinking common to the habitans, of whom three-fourths at least are creoles. And I can speak pertinently in this matter, for I am on the spot, and an eyewitness of what I am reporting on this head with an exact impartiality. . .

The Americans welcomed the refugees from San Domingo, especially in Maryland. The law forbidding the admission of slaves into the Union was simply set aside out of humanitarian considerations. The people of Louisiana acted entirely otherwise.

Firstly, scarce had the Louisianians heard of the unfortunate occurrences of the Antilles, following and as an immediate result of the French Revolution, than they made haste through the cabildo or municipal body of their colony, to draw up an act, expressly forbidding the introduction of negroes from those places, especially from the French

islands, under penalty even of a fine of four hundred piastres per negro (which fine the master would be obliged to pay for the profit of the colony), and of the arrest and prompt deportation of said negroes from the country. They petitioned and obtained from the governor general the immediate promulgation of that prohibitory act. Further, not content with that measure, they had him ask its confirmation from the court in Europe, which was effectually granted in the month of January, 1793. By means of their cabildo, they have since had that act rigorously executed, without any consideration or exception whatever in favor of the French colonists gathered at the north of America (in a country whose language they did not understand and whose climate was hostile to them), and who without that rigorous interdict would have come here in great numbers to settle and bring here the remnants of their fortunes and their talents, had they been able to bring here with them some faithful domestics who had never abandoned them.

Some of those colonists, having no knowledge of that internal act, or rather believing that after several years it had fallen into disuse or been withdrawn, recently traveled overland from the north of America to this country. They were provided, moreover, with passports, delivered by his Catholic Majesty's ambassador to the United States, allowing them to come here to reside with their families and their domestics. Already admitted tacitly by the Spanish government, which was more compassionate toward their miseries than their former countrymen, they were not long in being denounced and prosecuted by the Louisiana canaille. They have seen their domestics taken off by force (women and children) and dragged into prisons, where those wretched creatures have been detained more or less time at the expense of their masters; while there have been urgent and oft-repeated requisitions from a lot of soulless and heartless persons to have them deported, until the Spanish government, dropping its excitement on this subject, has been able to have them quietly returned to their owners. . .

From this portrayal of the moral imperfections common to the Louisianians, I pass with pleasure to the details of some good qualities that it would be unjust to refuse them, and which, it is known, besides can be allied to the vices and defects seemingly their opposites, in the heart of man, in that impenetrable abysm of contradictions which at times unites extremes and confuses them together. Faithful to their engagements, good husbands, tender fathers, and obedient sons, they are, besides, laborious, and even industrious, very handy in the mechanical arts, mechanics by instinct, who easily imitate all work that depends on accuracy of sight and skill of hand. They are not at all given to libertinage; and even, although very ignorant, they have, in their youth, a certain natural perspicacity and a peculiar disposition to learn the little that is taught them. It is true that it is but a fire of straw which soon goes out for want of food and sustenance. Perhaps for the development of their intellectual faculties, and the imparting of energy to their benumbed souls, they need only clever masters and good institutions; and these this

country has always lacked and lacks. Perhaps also (and I believe this strongly), such institutions can never take root in the place even, and it will be very necessary, indeed, for the young creole (if he will get any profit) to be expatriated and sent across seas to Europe, or at least to one of the chief states in the north of America, where excellent colleges have been founded for some years, and the number and worth of which will increase with time.

Let me pass from the men to the women, that interesting portion of society. We have already observed their exterior. Let us examine them as to their moral qualities. In this regard, as well as in their physical qualities, they have more advantage and gain more by being known than do the men. They have, in general, more penetration and less uncouthness. As illy instructed as the men, that defect of education is much less discernible in them; and the bad qualities resulting from that lack, are not nearly so apparent in the ones as in the others. Many of them even have a natural wit, and a social instinct, with which very few men in this country are endowed to an equal degree. Let a stranger of any appearance enter a house, and ask for a meal, it will usually be the mistress of the place who will receive and entertain him, and do all the honors of the house; while the master, after a few moments of conversation, in which he will have said very little and will have been very often on needles and pins, will go, without ceremony, to his rude occupations, and will not reappear until mealtime, thus seeming rather to be the subordinate agent than the husband of the lady. Also the Louisiana women, having more head and intelligence than their creole husbands, have over the latter an ascendancy which derives from their superiority of mind and from the quality of their character. No sensible abuse results from this, and the domestic arrangements are not less smooth.

But the chance is different when these same women are united to Europeans. That ascendancy exists no longer on their part; or rather, if they try, willy nilly, to seize and enjoy it, after the example of those among them married to creoles, the result of that pretension which their husbands will not recognize, is continual clashing and discordant conflict, which lead to scandalous scenes and commonly end in the abandonment of those women. A great number of women are to be seen in this country, especially in the city, who, indeed, are neither girls nor wives nor widows, whose husbands, grown weary of struggling against them, and giving up hope of bending them and not caring, moreover, to yield the rule to them, and to place themselves on the level of creole husbands, have finally determined to beat a retreat and to leave them there, abandoning as new Belphegors both their unruly Honestas and the country which the latter inhabit.

For the rest, the Louisiana women, and notably those born and resident on the plantations, have various estimable qualities. Respectful as girls, affectionate as wives, tender as mothers, and careful as mistresses, possessing thoroughly the details of household economy, honest, reserved, proper — in the van almost — they are, in general, most excellent

women. Is not a husband only too lucky to have peace in his household, at the price of his sacrifice of a part of his authority, when, moreover, account is taken of that sacrifice of everything that can make him forget it? But there are men who do not understand reason on this head, and desire to be men in the whole sense of the term. Well, what happens then? Nothing good. From jangling they come to scenes, ruptures, and even to divorce, even if not by law.

It is, perhaps, in part, to that character of the Louisiana women, which is lacking in flexibility and is haughty even, too much developed and too well known now, as well as to the luxury which has been introduced into this colony during the last ten or twelve years, that one must attribute the few marriages that occur annually in this country which is full of marriageable and arch-marriageable girls who languish in single blessedness and in hopes of a union, ever in perspective, and which seems to be for those unfortunate vestals, the cup of Tantalus. It is to be observed, moreover, that girls greatly exceed boys in number in this country, which is another disadvantage which renders the chance of the former still more unfavorable. Also the birth of a boy is much more pleasing to the parents than that of a girl, who only serves to swell a long list and to increase a proportion really too great between the individuals of the two sexes, by putting one weight more in one of the plates of the balance which is already too heavy.

In conclusion, I deem it of use to observe that whatever has just been set forth relative to the physical and moral make-up of the creoles of Louisiana— men and women — is only under a general point of view, and one which admits on all sides, of many exceptions. If there are among them many men who are ignorant, harsh, selfish, false, slanderers, boasters, and babblers, others are to be seen, on the contrary, who are clever, humane, generous, sincere, complaisant, modest, and veracious, especially those who have been reared in Europe. The only pity is that the number of the latter is very circumscribed, and one is forced to say of them "*Sunt rari nantes in gurgite vasto*," or indeed what Boileau said of the honest women of Paris, "There are just three of them that I could mention." Then if there are many proud and harsh women here, there are also others of a flexible and affable character. If many girls who are tired and weary of their lot are to be found, one also sees, as well, those who pay no attention to it, or at least support it with courage and make a virtue of patience. There is, as is said, no rule without its exceptions.

Speaking somewhat more broadly, yet often with specific referenc to the creoles, the same author says [*ut supra*, 276-298]:

Luxury, which was introduced here some ten or twelve years ago, and which is making daily progress here, as well as the influence of the foreigners of every kind who have come into this country during this period, have had a deep effect on public morals. However, morals are not considerably changed in the country districts. But in New Orleans they already show a strong tendency toward depravity and are going rapidly down hill, the beginnings of corruption having had a greater de-

velopment in this city than elsewhere. It is here that one sees the noticeable results of this change in morals. A tone of extravagance and show in excess of one's means is seen there in the dress of the women, in the elegance of their carriages, and in their fine furniture. And to this is joined the passion for the gaming table and for play among the men. A country, poor in itself, and enjoying for some years only a borrowed prosperity, which it owes to the aid of its government and to the circumstances of the times which have attracted English and American trade there (an aid and circumstance that might cease at any moment), a country of this sort is not made to know and adopt luxury, which, dangerous in a rich country, is a mortal poison for the regions condemned by nature to mediocrity.

Now when I speak of the luxury that has been introduced for some little time into this colony, one must not imagine, however, that it is an extreme luxury and similar to that whose radiancy strikes us in so many other places. Luxury is, as is known, a purely relative thing, and proportioned to the resources of the place where it shows itself. Hence, what is luxury for one place is not so for another; and what, for instance, is called luxury here, would assuredly not be luxury at Cap-Français before the epoch of its misfortunes. Luxury is, then, properly speaking, an extension of its expenses beyond its means, or so at least I understand it. In such sense, then, I say that there is already a luxury in this country, proportionally to its resources; and although the display of the same degree of luxury in many other places would be a very slight thing, or more truly, would be considered as a very ordinary expense. Besides, I shall add (and I shall be readily believed) that the inclination for luxury is much stronger here than the luxury itself, especially among the women of the city. To them are not wanting all the proper inclinations to give themselves to it, except indeed the means; for their husbands or their parents are not at all inclined to trust them blindly in this important matter, which is the object of their dearest cares. In this state of affairs, it is apparent that a relaxing in morals must derive from this passionate love for luxury. The most remarkable, as well as the most pathetic result of that gangrenous irregularity in this city is the exposing of a number of white babies (sad fruits of a clandestine excess) who are sacrificed from birth by their guilty mothers to a false honor, after they have sacrificed their true honor to their unbridled inclination for a luxury that destroys them. One of these unfortunate little creatures who was exposed last winter during the night outside the city was found and taken at daybreak by a savage woman whom its cries attracted. She took the child into her hut, gave it her breast, and finally adopted that unfortunate child. . .

Society (I mean here by this word, the union of social bonds and intimacies) is little known in New Orleans. Here people live in great isolation and only see one another on parade, in order to measure one another with the eyes, and slander one another afterward. Here the spirit of selfishness, the show of wealth, and the mania for pretense, all confused together, offer an insurmountable barrier to what constitutes

the essence of good society. Here, besides there can be no public spirit, no similar tastes, no fashion of thinking and speaking common to each individual, because of the kind of population which is seen in this city. It is only a confused mixture, a shapeless composition of people of all countries and of all professions: creoles of the country, French, Spanish, English, Americans, Germans, Italians, etc., a veritable tower of Babel. Here one can scarcely be understood by his neighbor; and the only language intelligible here to each of these diverse beings is that of self interest. That is the universal language; that is the current money. A gallant must limit himself in this city to the company of a very small number of worthy and companionable persons, and keep away from all the rest. He will surely not lose by it.

Commerce has as its foundation here only a narrow and mercantile retail trade, or a sordid stock jobbing. The richest capitalists of the city and of the country (Europeans and creoles) do not blush at all to place their money at one and one-half or two per cent monthly, and sometimes for even more, with good securities, and the rules of custom which adorn and sanction to all. And they are only the more esteemed because they become the richer by it. Now, every country where usury, far from being held in execration, is favorably received, can only be inhabited by people devoid of principles and morals. The consequence is infallible.

Delation is also viewed here in the same manner as usury, namely, in the light of the benefit joined to it. Has not a creole of the country had the effrontery to declare openly that he would denounce his own father for two thousand piastres? And that man is the father of a family himself. *Ab uno, disce omnia.*

The inclination for lying and exaggeration appears here to be a vice peculiar to the soil, so widespread is it. People lie about everything, and sometimes even for nothing, and for the sole pleasure of lying. On a fly's foot, on an object of no value, on nothing at all, they will forge you on the instant, the most absurd information, which they will accompany with so many positive facts, and which they will recite in a tone so firm and with protestations so exact (such as "I have seen," "I have heard," etc.) that if one were to say he did not believe it, he would have to make up his mind to pass for an incredulous fellow, for a skeptic, for a veritable St. Thomas. And next morn, or that very day, the edifice of the lie is destroyed to give place to another one, which will not long delay in being destroyed also.

That general propensity for lying, joined to a very great amount of self love and vanity, leads to bragging, of which they are not at all chary in this country, if they are of other things. Here one becomes once or twice as rich as he is in reality. The ugliest habitation is a terrestrial paradise. The negro planter annually brings in four or five hundred piastres to his master, and an arpent of ground, at least two hundred. Men here are all frank and generous, women are never old, and girls never of age. But trust to these fine reports, and you will later see that you must retrench them.

As to the women they would do much better to keep inside their houses and give themselves up entirely to the care of their housekeeping, instead of going to see and to visit one another the greater part of their time, to babble about the absent, and mutually to slander one another after separating. But they do not attach great importance to that. There is also another thing to observe among the creoles of the country, both men and women. This is their propensity for quarreling, for insulting one another, for cruelly satirising one another, and of making it up again with an ease that has no parallel elsewhere than among the vulgar mob — to such a degree that they thee and thou one another, without the slightest rancor, apparently, at least, and until another outburst. I have been present at scenes, which in any other place, would have mortally embroiled two women, and would have led two men to cut each other's throats, but which produced among the actors and actresses only words and noise, and were ended by sudden reconciliations, and familiar address, with which both the men and women among them are prodigal. Such scenes, man to man, when they are very violent, at the worst, are terminated by a boxing match, between the contestants, as in the English fashion, but that is all. Duels, properly so called, are almost unknown. . .

Moreover, that tone of familiarity, that customary thouing and theeing, of which I have spoken above, proper for a tender friendship or for a still more lively sentiment, is the common tone among the native men and women, however slight the relation between them, but they do not pretend by that anything special or significant. It is, so to speak, only the tone of Lucas speaking to Mathurin, or of Babet amusing himself with Perrette. It was that of the former colonists of the country, nearly all people of low extraction, who have traditionally communicated it to their descendants, as well as many other somewhat parallel customs. . .

I will observe that the customs are much more regular in the country districts than in the city, luxury much less widespread, the tastes that hold there much less in style, and finally, society much better composed, though not very attractive.

The creole women, lacking, in general, the talents that adorn education, have no taste for music, drawing, or embroidery, but in revenge they have an extreme passion for dancing and would pass all their days and nights at it. The former talents require application and study, but they have no inclination for that; while the latter is rather an exercise and an amusement than an indisputable effort.

During the winter that passion is at its height. Then, they dance in the city, they dance in the country, they dance everywhere, if not with much grace, at least with great ardor; and the fiddlers are then always kept busy. For the rest, there is no variety in those amusements. There is the eternal quadrille, which is given without ceasing, although it is true some different forms are adapted to it, but at bottom it is always the same. And that monotony does not fail to tire the spectator, even if it does not the actors.

The creole women are very fertile, and that early and for a long time. After seven or eight years of marriage, they have half a dozen children, all welcome, and sometimes more; and they are still fresh and disposed, moreover, to complete the dozen. It is very common to see mother and daughter with child at the same time, and it would not be even impossible to see sometimes, the granddaughter figuring also in the scene, and completing the trio. Several foreign women, who for a long time had ceased to bear, after going to Louisiana have here become great before the end of the year of their arrival, especially Spanish women, who are known to be very sterile in general. Hence, there is a saying in these places, by way of pleasantry, that the waters of the Mississippi have, beyond doubt, a prolific virtue. And when one considers that happy disposition for propagation which seems to belong to the country, as well as the great number of creole girls living here, he can not see without regret (this is said seriously) that all these means of population remain, so to say, a pure loss and almost fruitless, because of the rarity of marriage. This must necessarily be attributed to the causes which we have already assigned to that state of celibacy, to that monkish life, the taste for which is extending here more and more among the men. In witness of what I advance on this matter, one single observation will suffice, as follows. For the two and one-half years that I have been in this colony, not thirty marriages at all notable have occurred in New Orleans and for ten leagues about it. And in this district, there are at least six hundred white girls, of virtuous estate, of marriageable age, between fourteen and twenty-five or thirty years. There is, then, following this proportion, but one marriage effected per year of the fifty that could be made. For the rest, it is a speculation and oft frustrated hope.

The women of the city now dress tastefully, and their change of appearance in this respect in a very short space of time is really surprising. Not three years ago, almost all of them wore round short petticoats, and long jackets with lengthened skirts, the upper part of their clothing being of one color, and the lower of another, and all the rest of their dress in proportion; they were brave with many ribbons and few jewels. Thus rigged out they went everywhere, on their round of visits, to the ball, and to the theaters. Today such a costume seems to them, and rightly so, a masquerade. The richest of embroidered muslins, cut in the latest styles, and set off as transparencies over soft and brilliant taffetas, with magnificent lace trimmings, and with embroidery and gold embroidered spangles are today fitted to and beautify well-dressed women and girls; and this is accompanied by rich earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, precious jewels, in fine, with all that can relate to dress — to that important occupation of the fair sex. The only thing still lacking to them, to be quite in the grand fashion, is a less frequent display of that splendid dress, which is kept for rare occasions, and especially the stone ornaments which are forbidden to their means, but which are very dear to their hearts.

The women who live in the country and on their plantations, are still far from attaining to that pompous show of the women of the city; for they are not daily, as are the latter, on show, and on the stage of fashion and gallantry. But since there is nothing that spreads so rapidly as luxury, one must not despair that they will soon arrive at the same point of elegance, especially since goodwill is not wanting to them in this respect, although they are free from being exposed, like those of the city, to the imminent danger by which that seductive decoration is surrounded and to the words of the evil intentioned.

A custom, very general in this country, and which holds to the sway of style, as well as to the parsimony of the inhabitants, is that of having oneself taken to the city, even from twenty leagues' distance, as soon as one feels sick, instead of procuring in the country the aid that can be expected in such a case, from people of the profession, by causing some of that class to settle there among them by means of subscriptions, as is done in the Antilles. Instead of a competent physician, or at least a clever surgeon, one is content to have at his house, or at that of his neighbor, the works of Tissot, Buchan, and some other authors of this class, which are thumbed and consulted, *ab hoc et ab hac*, and without any expense, the symptoms of such and such a sickness described in one of those books being compared and likened willy nilly to those of such and such another sickness that one wishes to treat. Thus they take one sickness for another, heating when they ought to cool, cooling when they ought to heat, substituting a simple of the country which they think good for any other indicated and prescribed, which they can not procure, and by a complication of cares and remedies poorly applied, making serious, finally, the most simple indispositon which nature itself would have cured in a short time. And when the sickness becomes serious, one must be carried to the city, at any risk, and be placed in the charge of the venerable medical men.

That custom of thus carrying a sick person from a distance of ten or twelve leagues, either by way of the river, which is the most usual, or by postchaise, is pernicious in itself, and in every way, both because of the annoying consequences to the sick person which often result from that moving, and by the introduction into the city of various germs of diseases which did not exist there. It is a custom that transforms New Orleans into a vast hospital, and which ought to be abolished by the proper method. But doubtless messieurs the surgeons of New Orleans would oppose that, for they get their living by that method, and daily, without leaving the city or going to confine themselves in the country, see the sick people arrive, so to speak, at their very doors, just as the customer goes to the merchant's shop. Hence, I would dare assert, that with the exception of the office of the man of justice and the trade of baker, there is no profession here which leads quicker to fortune than that of the surgeon who practices medicine, etc. There are a dozen surgeons in this city at the most, who combine in themselves, contrary to the regular custom, the functions of physicians, surgeons, pharmacists,

and even those of midwives or accoucheuses, and who, thanks to the custom of which we have just spoken, exploit thus (this is said without any exaggeration) twenty leagues of country, right at home, and within the narrow circle of the city and its environs.

There are no women besides, in that same extent of country, or, at least, there are very few, who would not believe, or make a pretense of believing that they would make the most disastrous kind of a birth, if they did not go, one or two months beforehand, to reside in the city, and prepare themselves to bring forth there, in due time, the fruit of their fertility, by the help of a surgeon, rather than one of their own sex. . . There are few places where accouchments and their consequences cause proportionally so many serious and even mortal accidents as at New Orleans. I shall attribute this still less, however, to the want of skill of the surgeons and to the rudeness of their operations than to the humidity of the climate, as well as to the imprudence of the women after their accouchement, and to the little care they employ in the critical state in which they are at such times.

The French language is that generally used in this colony. The Spanish and English languages are, however, somewhat extensively used: the former by reason of the ascendancy of the government, all the acts of which, as well as those of the administration and of the courts, emanate in that tongue and are translated into French when that is necessary by an interpreter employed for that purpose; the latter because of the influence of the commerce and proximity of the United States; and both of them finally, because of the great number of Spaniards and Americans who have settled in the colony or travel in it.

French is spoken here very well, [although] with certain colloquialisms almost vicious, of which I shall cite a few as samples. They drag out and prolong too much (which is common, especially among women), certain syllables, notably the final, with sharp changing intonations, so that they appear to sing while speaking. This produces an obvious effect, and one disagreeable to the ear which is unaccustomed to it.

They mutilate and disfigure certain words, such as *bien* [i.e., well], *tu* [i.e., thou], *une* [i.e., a *or* one], etc., which are here generally pronounced as follows: Il a *ben* fait [i.e., he has done well]; t'as vu mons fils [i.e., hast thou seen my son?]; c'est eune belle femme [i.e., she is a beautiful woman]; etc.

Now I am not speaking here of the Acadians and the Germans, nor of their first generation, who all speak a French more or less corrupt, but of the creoles of European French origin.

Besides, it appears that there is a physical defect in this country, an imperfection in the formation of the organs of speech. This makes itself felt chiefly in the manner in which many creoles of both sexes, white as well as colored, pronounce here the consonant "j", and the dipthong "ch", which many of them corrupt by transforming the "j" into "z" and the "ch" into "ce", as I am about to show by a plain example. Suppose

that a creole, a lover of the chase and a braggart (as so many of them are) in order to boast of his skill in this respect, should express himself in these terms:

"*Je ne sache point avoir jamais été chasser, que je ne sois rentré chez moi avec ma charge de gibier* [i.e., I can not recall that I have ever been hunting, that I have not come back home with my load of game]."

His tongue tied and lacking flexibility, will cause him to pronounce these worls as follows:

"*Ze ne zace point avoir zamais été sacer, que ze ne sois rentré cé moi avez ma çarze de gibier*;" and so on.

There is no other public institution fit for the education of the youth of this country than a simple school maintained by the government. It is composed of about fifty children, nearly all from poor families. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught there in the two languages, French and Spanish. There is also the house of the French nuns, who have some young girls as boarders, and who have a class for day students. There is also a boarding school for young creole girls, which was established about fifteen months ago and directed by a man who is not without talents in that line. But since there is nothing else in this country except a good bargain, and since the price of his school, for the maintenance of which he was about to add special masters, appeared too dear to messieurs the colonists, those fine people, although unable to dispute his personal merit with that founder, have tried to depreciate his accuracy and his care by the few students who had been entrusted to him by their European parents or those reared in Europe, in order to make it appear right not to have placed their own children there. That school being unable to be maintained in a fitting manner with so moderate means has almost gone to wreck and ruin; and our coarse merchants of New Orleans and others have continued to send their children at the cost of two piastres per month to small schools scattered here and there in the city. By means of that method they get rid of them for part of the day for a low price, but do not reflect on the emptiness and abuses of that sort of an education. Our sugar, cotton, and indigo planters in the country districts limit themselves to picking up on the highway some poor devil, to whom they give lodging, board, and some moderate emolument, and who is charged with teaching all he knows (in truth, not very much) to his restive pupils. The latter learn that the poor pedagogue has no real authority over them, and soon discover that their preceptor is regarded by papa and mamma in about the same light as a contemptible fellow or as a domestic in their pay. . .

There is found here neither shipyard, trade exchange, colonial post, college, nor public nor private library. Neither is there a bookstore, and for good reasons, for a bookseller would die of hunger in the midst of his books, unless they could teach the interested reader the art of doubling his capital at the end of a year. Finally, there is only one small printing office, which I have already noted as being due to Monsieur de Carondelet, formerly the governor of this colony. Under charge of the

government, it is employed only in printing the gazette (which appears only once during the week under the title of *Moniteur de la Louisiane*), some government ordinances or rules of administration, alphabets and catechisms for the children, and forms for passports, bills of lading, etc.

Brilliancy of mind and talent of a certain kind are very rare here. Few good musicians are to be seen here. There is only one single portrait painter, whose talent is suited to the walk of life where he employs it. Finally, in a city inhabited by ten thousand souls, as is New Orleans, I record it as a fact that not ten truly learned men can be found. . . The only knowledge a little widespread in this country is that of the French, Spanish, and English languages, which have become almost necessary here, by the gathering here of persons to whom those three languages are native, and who on account of their mutual relations, have a reciprocal need of them.

I have already said that few fêtes are given here that are worthy the name. Everything is limited to a great repast, where a stupid uproar reigns. There besides, one need not look for refinement of taste in plates or liquors, nor good judgment in the arrangement of the banquet, nor still less for the charms of true wit . . . in the assemblage of the guests who go thither without any order. I can not accustom myself to those great mobs, or to the old custom of the men (on these gala occasions or better orgies) of getting more than on edge with wine, so that they get fuddled even before the ladies, and afterward act like drunken men in the presence of those beautiful ladies, who far from being offended at it, appear on the contrary, to be amused by it.

The principal consideration that man pursues in this country is that that attaches to his wealth and not to himself. Hence comes that consideration which is related to the rank which he occupies, to the distinction with which he is invested. As to that consideration due his virtue or his talents, it would be a useless trouble to seek them here.

Finally, a mixture of egoism and of falsity of heart, much of ignorance and grossness of mind, no energy of character: such is what forms essentially the base of the morals of this country, as well as the customs which result from these morals, and the central point whence one may set out to examine, in mass, or to observe in detail, all that can have reference to these morals and these customs.

Perrin du Lac in his *Voyage* [pages 393-396] touches the same matter as follows:

The creoles of Louisiana have lost under a foreign government neither their love for their mother country, nor the taste that characterizes its inhabitants. More than in Europe do they give themselves to pleasure with excess. Women, the table, and play share all their time. The last vice seems, however, to be the one which is in general strongest. They pass entire nights at play, and dissipate the rich products of their plantations. As in all colonies their taste for women extends more particularly to those of color, whom they prefer to the white women, because such women demand fewer of those annoying attentions which contradict their

taste for independence. A great number, accordingly, prefer to live in concubinage rather than to marry. They find in that the double advantage of being served with the most scrupulous exactness, and in case of discontent or unfaithfulness, of changing their housekeeper (this is the honorable name given to that sort of woman). They are . . . humane, affable, and hospitable. If the crowd of foreigners whom the revolution of our colonies has brought there, has diminished their eagerness to welcome them, it is because they have been so often deceived that they have been constrained to substitute distrust for their natural frankness.

The creole women as a rule have beautiful complexions. The freshness of their complexions contrasts peculiarly with the insalubrity of the country in which they live. They are usually sedentary, living in indolence, without society or great distractions. However, they love excessively to dance, and give themselves up to it without reserve when occasion offers. The young men who take little trouble to please them, wear almost always an air of ennui when compelled to be in their company. Without education or instruction, the lives of the young men are passed in play, dancing, riding, or hunting. Especially do they excel in this last exercise. Active and lively, they need only an acquaintance with good masters and goodwill. Brave, hardy, enterprising, nothing pleases them so much as a military uniform, which they usually don at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The government, to whom it is important to maintain this military taste employs almost all of them in the militia, or in the Louisiana regiment. They are often cadets for five or six years before they become sub-lieutenants, but that does not trouble them much. It is the epaulette which pleases them; appointments commence to occupy their minds only at an age when they can obtain some command. Thus, in this country, as everywhere, man puts his ambition in commanding others at an age when he is incapable of commanding himself.

[42] See note 4.

[43] Perrin du Lac [*Voyage*, 391,392] confirms Alliot's statement concerning Governor Salcedo:

A silly old man, superstitious and all but imbecile, he governs the colony under the good pleasure of his son, a greedy young man, an uneducated blockhead, who disgraces his rank in the army by his daily conduct.

The same author says that due to his prohibition of vaccination because of his superstitious beliefs, over six hundred of the children of the slaves perished. Since the retrocession of Louisiana to France has become known, Salcedo has sold appointments and privileges; has removed men of integrity and replaced them by rascals; and has allowed smuggling openly.

[44] See note 1.

[45] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 176-181] comments as follows on the Spanish judiciary in Louisiana:

> The legal order established in this country and based on Spanish jurisprudence is truly chaos, for a foreigner especially. It is a series of conflicting reports, a confusion of cognizance and jurisdiction, a fabric of injustice and bias, and more, a whirlpool of money for the unfortunate individuals engaged in that tortuous labyrinth, from which they are only freed after years of embarrassment and trouble with an empty purse and with a heap of undecipherable waste paper, to which is very often coupled a judgment without head or tail. Hence, there is no country in the world, I believe, where processes are feared more than in Louisiana — so much so that in order to avoid them, one consents rather to a settlement or arbitration. But this resource can not be obtained in matters of inheritance. Does a father of a family die after having put his affairs in as good shape as possible? That family order never agrees with the legal order, which in order that all may be done for the best, seizes on the inheritance in the very face of the widow, children, and testimentary executor (if there is one), by means of affixing stamps on all that depends on it. This is generally followed by a multitude of other acts, each more expensive than the other, and by the multiple rubrics of the agents of justice; and by the extreme slowness with which it is all executed, to the great detriment of the inheritance. In a word that maneuver is so powerful and becomes so onerous, however viewed, that the most litigious Bas-Norman would end by chanting here the palinody and the zealous apostle of chicanery would become from it, I believe, its mortal enemy.
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> It follows from this that the legal order is a gold mine for those engaged in it in New Orleans. In that city are the only tribunals of justice in the colony, and there everything is concluded. Judges, assessors, attorneys, notaries, etc., all swim in deep waters, all achieve fortune sooner or later, and by reason of their places. One single example of fact will suffice to confirm it. Some years ago, a certain Spaniard died in this city. He landed in this country as poor as Job, but less scrupulous than he in his amassing — in the profession of attorney, and in the space of eight or ten years — a fortune truly prodigious. Doubtless he thought that it ought to be justified during his lifetime, and for the discharge of his conscience, by making at his expense certain charitable and religious foundations now existing — among others, a parish church, an addition to the public hospital, and a convent. His death occurring in the meantime prevented him from finishing the last, which has remained *in statu quo*, because his widow who inherited his fortune has not at all inherited his pious sentiments in that regard. She has preferred to go to law rather than to continue the building of the convent; and this is sufficient to show how considerable would have been the expense of that. It is said that that widow is worth more than one million piastres, which were acquired by the great cleverness of her deceased husband in the dark science of chicanery.

But shall we pass in silence the prototype and leader of the legal order in this country, that amphibious magistrate, admitted turn about into the councils of Themis and of Mars, and holding in his hands the balance of the pen of one and the sword of the other, a man of the robe, a man of the sword, and finally, in one word, Don Maria Nicolas Vidal Chavez Echavarri de Madrigal y Valdez, civil lieutenant governor, auditor of war in the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, etc.? Of a surety, no, we must not forget to make mention here of that illustrious member of Spanish jurisprudence. And even through a singular honor that I do him, that great personage is absolutely the only one whose name and rare qualities will figure in full in this work. But to great men, great distinctions! I have promised myself to conceal nothing in this work relative to the colony of which I speak, and of a nature to be set forth and depicted with veracity, without rancor and without flattery, and the country and its inhabitants such as they shall have appeared to me to be. At the same time, I have imposed on myself the reservation of naming no one, and of allowing the masks to be guessed, permitting myself a general censure which should not degenerate into personal satire. I have not departed from this plan until now ([and would not now] except for regard to the illustrious personage whom I have just named in order to give him a quite peculiar distinction) and I shall continue to pursue that plan for all others.

Would it be possible, I say, to leave in obscurity, a worth so eminent and so rare as his, and not to make an exception to my rule in favor of an individual of that class, worthy of being cited as a model to all the Dandins present and future and of every nation? A judge above the common, the examination of any matter and its decision are for him a true arithmetical and financial calculation, in which he adds, subtracts, multiplies, and divides, with a wonderful sagacity, the reasons pro and con, and decides infallibly on the side of those reasons which offer to his mind as a final result, not the most exact quotient, but rather the largest, and especially, the most real product, for multiplication is always, in last analysis, his favorite rule. A zealous partisan of monarchical government, he has for it a devotion so respectful and so submissive, that the likeness of his sovereign stamped on a little metallic plate is, in his eyes, a sacred idol, and so worthy of his homage, that there is nothing that can not be obtained from him by means of that talisman, multiplied up to a certain point.

Now then a truce to irony, and let us speak seriously of a man who, by his crying acts of injustice, by his insatiable passion for gold, by his monstrous immorality, and by his haughty, brusque, sombre, capricious character, unendurable on all accounts, is generally held in dishonor and detested in the high post that he holds and disgraces, and in which he has maintained himself, moreover, for a number of years, in spite of public opinion, so generally and so energetically pronounced against him, that his name is scarcely ever mentioned in a private circle unless accompanied by some expressive epithet indicative either of the liveliest indignation or the deepest contempt. For him everything is venal, and

> conscience and honor are meaningless words to him. How many acts of injustice and rapacity are not attributed to him? From how many unfortunate families has he not weakened the resources and drained the substance? A man as vicious as the unjust magistrate, in the very face of his countrymen, who are scandalised by his manner of living, and in a position where he ought to give others the example of good morals, is not that old rake with a monkey face (as ugly as it is impudent and evil), and wallowing in his celibacy, seen openly with a French mulattress, whom he has enriched with a part of his plunder?

Following is a summary of the account of the courts, etc., as given in *Account of Louisiana*, 32-38.

Most of the French laws had given way to Spanish. The governor's court had civil and military jurisdiction throughout the province; that of the lieutenant governor extended only to civil matters. There were two alcaldes with civil and criminal jurisdiction in New Orleans and for five leagues about it. The intendant's court had jurisdiction in admiralty and fiscal causes. The tribunal of the provincial alcalde had jurisdiction in criminal causes, when offenses were committed in the country, or when the criminal took refuge there, and in other specified causes. The ecclesiastical tribunal had jurisdiction in all church matters. The governor, lieutenant governor, alcaldes, intendant, provincial alcalde, and the provisor in ecclesiastical causes, were sole judges. All death sentences were to be ratified by the superior tribunal or captain general, except those of the provincial alcalde. The governor could not pardon criminals. An auditor and an assessor were appointed to advise the judge. The district commandants had some judicial authority, their jurisdiction extending to pecuniary causes the value of which did not exceed one hundred dollars. For sums in excess of that amount, they began the suit, collected evidence, etc., and then sent the whole to the governor for conclusion before the proper tribunal. Some small causes were decided by hearing both parties viva voce, but all the larger cases were tried by the system of petition, replies, etc., in accordance with the intricate system of Spanish law, everything being written. Appeal lay to Havana in causes over a certain value, if applied for within five days after the date of the sentence. There were few lawyers, and fees were small, the latter being true to the judges also. Notaries intervened in all acts. The abogado was a person consulted by the judge on legal points, for which fees of some consideration were paid. Counsellors were hated and generally remained but a short time at New Orleans, because of the large sums exacted by them. Suits were generally long and expen-

sive when the parties were wealthy. There were few crimes of great atrocity. Murder by stabbing was confined chiefly to Spanish soldiers and sailors. Punishments were generally confined to imprisonment, fines, payment of the costs, and sometimes the stocks. Murder, arson, and aggravated robbery of the royal treasury were punished with death. Theft from private persons was punished by restitution, imprisonment, and sometimes enormous costs. Contraband trade, etc., was punished with hard labor for life, or for a period of years, in the galleys, mines, or public works.

[46] Of the religious life and organization of the colony, Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 172-175], says:

> According to the public worship established in this colony, the Catholic, apostolic and Roman religion is followed here, or at least professed, outwardly. The chief of the clergy is the bishop of Louisiana and West Florida. Truly his diocese is one of the most extensive in the four quarters of the world, if not one of the most peopled. For, independently of the vast territory occupied by the settlements of the colony, it embraces (at least in idea and in the spiritual sense) all that immense region, yet almost unknown, that stretches into the interior of the continent and extends toward the northwest of the Mississippi, from the banks of that river to the western side of America and to the borders of the Pacific Sea.
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> It is quite true that the savage nations who inhabit those distant countries where no European has yet penetrated, have never heard of their spiritual father and chief, and no Spanish missionary has yet been found courageous enough and inflamed enough with a burning zeal for the propagation of the faith, to go to spread in that immense field, the seeds of Christianity, as the risk of obtaining the palm of martyrdom. On this point, it must be observed, besides, that that is not, to all appearances, a country of gold and silver mines, or one that produces emeralds and diamonds like the rich countries of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, where Spanish and Portuguese missionaries cast themselves with fervor to plant there fruitfully the standard of the cross, and to make an honest and disinterested exchange of the precious treasures of heaven for those vile and perishable riches of the earth. One may well, at that price, risk something, and go to distribute the bread of life to those brutish and savage beings, from whom he receives in return, the gold, silver, and precious stones buried in the bosom of the mountains or scattered in the sands of the torrents, and for whom he prepares, at one and the same time, paradise in the other world and hell in this, by leading them piously from baptism to the mines.
>
> However that may be, and while waiting for the natives of the northwestern part of America to enter willingly or by force into the bosom of the Church, and until convents can be established and priests distributed throughout this country, the bishop of Louisiana limits himself to exer-

cising his ministry in the interior of the colony. And since the spiritual, to the eyes of every good Spaniard, is as high above the temporal, as the soul is above the body, and as the cavalier is above the horse, it is quite necessary that the emoluments of the one also surpass greatly those of the other. Consequently, by a just and moderate appreciation, the bishop of Louisiana receives annually fifteen thousand piastres as a fixed salary, while the governor general only receives six. Nothing better imagined! Moreover, that is but a small sum in comparison with the annual salary attached to the bishopric of Havana, which amounts to sixty thousand piastres.

The clergy, of whom the bishop of Louisiana is head, and who are attached to the service of this colony, are composed of some secular priests and a body of Capuchins, who poorly fill, as parish priests, the parishes established in the country at widely separated points. One parish priest and his vicar suffice to administer a curacy of fifteen or twenty leagues in extent. It must be inferred from this that their duties are very, or scarcely, severe, and in view of the country, the second inference is much more applicable than the first. To baptise, to marry, to bury, and to say one or two masses daily, without ever losing sight of the chimneys of their parsonages — that is the extent of their spiritual labors. The devotion of their parishioners does not demand more, and their private disposition does not carry them farther. In a word, the form of religion is observed, both good and bad, and the spirit neglected; and in that regard, it is here as in many other places and in many other cases, where the form does away with the spirit. In general, the Spanish friar [*moine*] is ignorant, vicious, and full of superstition; and education, propriety, and good morals are found only in the few French secular priests attached to the clergy of this colony, and who do not fail at times to be mortified on account of this.

Perrin du Lac [*Voyage*, 392] says on the same matter:

There is a bishop at New Orleans who rules the colony in spiritual matters. He appoints to all the vacant curacies, and in each important district a chief vicar, to whom he delegates a large share of his powers. There is only one convent for men, the religious of which are idle, dirty, and intolerant, and conceal under their habits their depravity and ignorance. There is also a community of women who engage in teaching, where the young girls are carefully and modestly reared, and where they receive all the talents of which the country is susceptible.

According to Robin [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 122], there were only a dozen priests at the most, either seculars or regulars. The bishopric established by Spain in New Orleans paid a salary of 15,000 piastres, while the governor received only 6,000. Each curé received thirty piastres per month, together with a like amount for surplice fees. The settlements rarely saw a priest. Baptism could be performed by any person. Marriages were performed by the commandant of the district.

> Religion in this colony is all in form; there is no longer any of the spirit in it. . . In the city they are well satisfied with the Capuchins who perform the functions of parish priests. They leave the conscience free. In no other country in the world is tolerance more extended. In no other country as well do they exercise it more widely. Women, negroes, and officers in the governor's suite are almost the only ones who go to church. Here one has no need of knowing how to read in order to be a philosopher or in order to despise popular prejudices. Those Capuchins, now so tolerant, would well have wished to be less so, such is the virtue of the power of the frock, or rather is man inclined to that hard despotism, which tries to force the will so quickly and artlessly, although prudent persuasion is so necessary to penetrate the will gently. One day the leader of those Capuchins enjoined the governor to establish the Inquisition. This was a topic of much talk in the colony, nearly all French. The governor, for answer to the one who demanded the Inquisition, made him embark and sent him to Spain — a thing unheard of under this government. The Capuchin has returned and resumed his pastoral duties, but he has quite forgotten his projects for the Inquisition, unless he yet holds them *in petto* [i.e., in his bosom].

See: Robin, *ut supra*, 122-124.

The *Account of Louisiana*, 38, 39, says that the salary of the bishop was met from Cuba and Mexico. The two canons received a salary of $600 apiece; the twenty-five parish priests (five of whom were in New Orleans) received from $360 to $480 per annum; both were met by the treasury in New Orleans. The Ursuline convent owned about 1,000 acres of land in three plantations. In 1803, there were only ten or twelve French nuns, since the Spanish nuns had gone to Cuba at the time of the transfer. The convent received an allowance of $600 annually with which they supported twelve orphans.

[47] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 31-39] describes a creole ball as follows:

> In winter during the carnival there is a public ball, which is held twice each week, once for the adults, and the other time for the children. It is not in a conspicuous place, and is only a sort of a market-place located in the middle of a large barracks situated in one of the cross streets of the city. It is the parade ground which can be reached at times only at the risk of being well bemired, even at the moment of getting there, in spite of all possible precautions. That dance hall is a long and narrow place about eighty feet long by thirty odd wide. Steps or a sort of tiers of boxes [*loges*] have been placed at the two sides of that hall, where the mammas are seated, or those who do not dance, and do needle work there, and are as is said in irony, I know not why, *Bredouilles* [i.e., all in a flutter with expectancy] until finally being taken out to dance, and descending the steps, from cold spectators with downcast looks and long faces, they soon become ardent actresses, with lively color and gleaming

eyes, and are from that time and by that fact completely *debredouillées* [i.e., made happy]. Below those steps is a row of benches and chairs for the female dancers who are resting, and between those boxes and benches a space two or three feet wide where reserve male dancers and simple lookers-on are crowded together pell-mell and jostle one against another. The musicians are composed of five or six Bohemians or people of color, who scrape their violins with all their might. They are arranged on a kind of raised platform midway along one side of the hall.

That hall is feebly illuminated, for a place of that nature where prodigality of brilliancy and reflection of light should reign, and is without splendor, chandeliers, or any other decorations whatsoever. And besides, the arrangement and shabbiness of the locality, where there is not even a simple floor which is not wretched, would render all embellishment ridiculous.

There then, during the months of January and February — rarely before or after — both men and women go to amuse themselves once or twice weekly, from seven o'clock in the evening until the morning, and to tire themselves in the movements, *grosso modo* [i.e., in a gross manner], of the quadrille, and what is more, quadrilles to the squeaky sound of those violins played by fiddlers who give them to the dancers for their money. The price of entrance into that charming place, into that temple of Terpsichore, is uniformly fixed at four escalins, or one-half piastre apiece, without regard to sex. Any person (I mean of the white race) who has that price can enter the hall, if neatly dressed, but without a mask (for masks are no longer allowed, since a scandalous scene that happened here at some masquerade). There he can figure at will, either as spectator or as actor, that is, if he is able to find room to dance in in the midst of that crowd, in which very little order reigns, and where the pleasure to be found in dancing is reserved for a certain number of people and is centered in a few groups who have the skill to get places for themselves, and to dance continually in the very faces of those who can not find room, until through weariness or otherwise, they are minded to allow others to caper about in their turn. This sort of monopoly, exercised with design and purposely in the enjoyment of an amusement, which by its very nature, ought to be common to all society . . . and has sometimes given rise to violent quarrels here, and even to serious encounters. This is so true, that a respectable mother can attribute only to this same cause the death of her only son, a young man of eighteen or twenty, who was giving fine hopes. Having recently arrived from Europe, and being present at one of these balls, he was openly provoked there by a person in one of those groups, fought a duel with him next morning, and was killed by a sword thrust.

In regard to the quarrels that arise from time to time in that place consecrated to joy and amusement, as the result of various ridiculous and ill-founded pretensions, did not one lately arise, the outcome of which would have been very fatal, under any consideration, had it not been for the presence of mind of two or three young Frenchmen, recently arrived

in this country, who promptly interposed between the military and the bourgeois of the place, who were about to come to blows in the middle of that hall and a crowd of frightened and distracted women and girls, some of whom fell fainting when the fight was about to begin, or had the appearance of it, while others jumped out of the windows? I am very desirous of telling you about it, for it is characteristic. This is how it happened. The eldest son of the governor general, since he danced but ill the French quadrille, or because he did not like it, and yet being desirous of dancing, had several times succeeded in having the English quadrille substituted for it, in which he acquitted himself better. The assemblage had consented to this as a mark of condescendence to the liking and wish of the son of the governor. This act of complaisance on the part of the assemblage was doubtless badly interpreted by our young Spaniard, who thought himself entitled, as is usually the case, to abuse it. And, in fact, seven French quadrille figures being formed, and the dancers already beginning to move to the sound of the instruments, our young idiot, without any other preamble, began to cry, "English quadrilles;" and our figures, offended at his indiscretion, and being already in movement, to boot, cried out in their turn more loudly, "French quadrilles." Some of his adherents collected about the governor's son, and repeated with him, "English quadrilles," while the dancers and spectators redoubled their cries of "French quadrilles." It was a scene of confused squabbling and endless uproar. Then the aggressor, seeing that he could not attain his end, ordered the fiddlers to cease playing and they obeyed him instantly. On the other side the Spanish officer whose business it was to maintain good order in that place, thinking only of humoring the governor's son, called in his guard composed of twelve grenadiers. They entered the dance hall sword at side and bayonets fixed in place on their guns. It is said even, that upon the tumult redoubling at sight of that guard, that officer ordered them to open fire on the assembly if they did not disperse immediately. This, however, is only hearsay. Imagine, then, the fright of the women, who uttered loud cries, and the rage of the men whose number was soon increased by the addition of those who were in the gaming hall and who joined those in the dance hall. Grenadiers on one side, players and dancers on the other, they were on the point of coming to blows. Guns, bayonets, and sabers on one side; swords, benches, chairs, and everything they could get hold of on the other. During all this hubbub which they were making, what was done by several Americans, pacifically inclined men, accustomed to the advantageous and prudent role of neutrality, and who had pronounced neither for nor against French or English quadrilles? They dragged the women who had fainted from the field of battle, and laden with those precious burdens, forced a passageway between the bayonets and swords, and gained an open space. Monsieur ——, a French merchant of the city, hurrying in from a gaming room to the aid of his wife, found her already outside the dance hall, in a faint in the arms of four Americans who carried her out.

At the height of all that uproar, and at the moment when the affair had the appearance of becoming bloody and when the farce begun by the governor's son would have ended by becoming tragic, at that critical instant, three young Frenchmen who had come to the city recently, climbed up into the boxes along the sides of the hall. There haranguing eloquently and loudly in favor of peace and concord, and in the interest of the fair sex whose cause they championed, they succeeded, as new mentors, in calming the common excitement, in pacifying the anger, and in restoring order and harmony in that place of discord and tumult. The ball even recommenced and continued the rest of the night in the presence of the aged governor who went thither to strengthen the fortunate work of the pacification that had just been effected, thanks to our young orators. The field of battle remained to the French quadrilles, and the officer of the guard was quit of it next morning by being arrested. . .

I shall observe further . . . only that the children's ball is gayer and more joyous than that of the adults, where a tone of mutual affectation, constraint, and causticity reigns (which a foreigner perceives very speedily, and at which he shrugs his shoulders). Instead of that the naive joy, agreeable nonsense, and amiable liberty of the many young people who leap and caper with so much more pleasure, because their amusement is their only end, present a more piquant, original, and agreeable sight than the first in all ways.

Robin [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 120, 121] says on the same subject.

Winter is the season for balls and they are very frequent. There are some for the ladies, *par excellence* (I mean the whites), and for the women of color. The men go to both of them. The cold stiffness of the great ladies makes the first very boring to those who do not gamble. The others show gayety, but all people do not enjoy gayety.

The ladies' ball is a sanctuary where no woman dare approach if she has even a suspicion of mixed blood. The purest conduct, the most eminent virtues, could not lessen this stain in the eyes of the implacable ladies. One of the latter, married and known to have been implicated in various intrigues with men of the locality, one day entered one of those fine balls. "There is a woman of mixed blood here," she cried haughtily. This rumor ran about the ballroom. In fact, two young quadroon ladies were seen there, who were esteemed for the excellent education which they had received, and much more for their honorable conduct. They were warned and obliged to disappear in haste before a shameless woman, and their society would have been a real pollution for her. Those girls have two brothers who are officers in the merchant marine. Aboard their vessels they can give twenty blows with the rope's end to white sailors, but ashore they do not even dare look them in the face.

See also Fortier's present-day description of a ball among the Acadians in Louisiana in his *Acadians of Louisiana*, a paper read

before the Modern Language Association of America, and published as number 1 in volume vi, of the publications of that association. It is very similar to the early descriptions given above.

[48] A physician in New Orleans. See note 1.

[49] Police and order regulations and system form the topic of a chapter in Berquin-Duvallon's instructive book, *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 182-187, as follows:

> As to the police system exercised in this country, in truth, it is a pity, and the public suffers from it in more than one way. The *most illustrious* cabildo (thus does it qualify itself) presided over by the governor general, or by his civil lieutenant, is a kind of municipal body composed of twelve members styled regidors or stewards. They assemble and hold a meeting once each week which lasts for the space of three hours at the most.
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> The functions of this body seem to be applied to all that concerns good order and the internal quiet of the colony. Consequently, everything belonging to the jurisdiction of the general and particular police should be the object of its care and solicitude. But, properly speaking, that assembly, whose august members are only simple bourgeois who have purchased for a few hundred piastres the honor of sitting in the cabildo beside Monsieur the governor, with no other object, and with no other pretensions whatever above their capacity, that assembly, I say, so constituted, is only a purchase, a frank image of what it ought to be and is not, a soulless body, which never receives any other impulse but that communicated to it by the governor, and finally, in a word, the fifth wheel to a cart. After receiving that impulse that body appoints, at the end of each year and for the following year, an attorney syndic and two alcaldes, taken turn about from the bourgeois of the city or the inhabitants of the district, Spanish and French. The attorney syndic is entrusted with reporting to the cabildo his observations and his remonstrances in regard to public affairs, functions of which he acquits himself as a rule with as much dignity and clearness as can reasonably be expected from a person much more capable of handling an aune or of calculating the product of a private interest of twenty per cent than in discussing the general interests of a country. The two alcaldes have charge of the maintenance of the police of the city, and are authorized to judge quarrels and other litigious matters which are brought to their courts. But this is only after the advice, handed in in writing by a man of the law, who is always a Spaniard, called the assessor, and to which advice, Monsieur the bourgeois alcalde, a new sort of judge, is bound to conform, completely and blindly, under his personal responsibility and with the danger of being taken to task if he tries to branch off and act as his own leader. It is, consequently, evident that Messieurs the annual alcaldes, taken from the midst of their shops or stores, in order to be placed at the head of their fellow citizens, with every appearance of the power

with which they are invested, can be and are only puppets exposed for show to the eyes of the people; and that the real judges of all the affairs brought into their courts are the Spanish assessors or councilors of justice, whose simple advice is law for them, and who hidden behind the curtain, make those venerable puppets move and act. Finally, they also, as well as the majority of their worthy colleagues and new kind of magistrates, in their borrowed rank, and with their black habits and swords, recall to me the famous governor of the island of Barataria, for they are as ignorant judges, though less sensible and much less modest than he. In all that, there is, on the part of the Spanish government, a secret policy which can not be concealed from the eyes of some observers and remains for all the rest enveloped as a veritable mummery, and nothing more.

The coercive force, which should be the instrument and support of the police, does not exist here at all, in a special manner at least. As yet no military corps has been established here, as elsewhere, for the exclusive maintenance of good order and public security. Only a few patrols of soldiers and bourgeois in the city, and of inhabitants in the country, have been as yet employed for that essential object. All of them attend only in a very negligent and desultory way to that duty, and as though they were not constrained and engaged by the state for it. Hence, in a country like this, whose sparse population ought not to offer the abuses resulting elsewhere from a numerous population, and where each proprietor has the right to exercise up to a certain point in his dwelling and over the beings under him a private surveillance suitable to keep them in good order, sometimes frightful crimes are committed which spring from a mass of disorders arising from the want of a general police force.

At the corners of almost all the cross streets of the city, and its suburbs, are to be seen nothing but taverns, which are open at all hours. There the canaille, white and black, free and slave, mingled indiscriminately, go to bear the fruit of their swindlings, and to gorge themselves with strong drink. And not far from the taverns are obscure bawdy houses and dirty smoking houses, where the father on one side, and the son on the other, go, openly and without any embarrassment, as well as without shame, to give themselves to their passion for play, and to squander more or less their moderate resources; or else to revel and dance indiscriminately and for whole nights, with a lot of men and women of saffron color, or quite black, either free or slave. Will anyone dare to deny this fact? I will only designate, in support of my assertion (and to say no more) the famous house of Coquet, located near the center of the city, where all that scum is to be seen publicly, and that for several years — to that degree that the tricolor balls which are held there (not to speak of the play, which is only a trifle more hidden there), are not at all secret; I have several times seen the printed announcements posted at the street corners, with the express permission of Monsieur, the civil governor (Don Maria Nicolas Vidal) of whom I have already made honorable mention, and to which I refer.

The bakers and other monopolists, in accord, doubtless, with those chosen to maintain police supervision, have monopolies on flour of all qualities which come in spring down the river from Kentucky and the neighboring districts. The flour costs them at wholesale from four to six piastres per barrel, and they retail it some months later at double the price. The first, especially, push their effrontery still further and sell and retail boldly bread made of mixed brands of flour, and which weighs at most only two-thirds the weight determined by the tariff of the place, and inserted even in the public paper. Consequently, at present, for example, when the tariff fixes the bread costing an escalin or twelve sols and a half tournois, at a weight of forty-six ounces, this same bread sold to the public by the baker, actually weighs only about twenty-eight ounces. It is, then, not surprising that those men make quick fortunes here at the expense of a third or a fourth; as is the case with the butchers, tavern-keepers, etc.; all sustained openly by the agents of the police whose hands (it is well understood) those privileged robbers are careful to grease.

In the country the same abuses do not exist as in the city, or at least, they are not nearly so frequent; and with the exception of a few public houses or poor billiard and dance halls, met with at long intervals along the two banks of the river, and in the districts located away from the river, and where some inhabitants and workmen assemble on holidays, some to play and others to tipple, the same occasions for disorder are not found as in the city. However, from time to time, some thefts are committed, and some assassinations even, notably in the distant settlements, where many evil persons who are less watched than elsewhere, take refuge.

The *Account of Louisiana*, 39, 40, says :

The duty of commandants is to superintend the police, preserve the peace of the district, examine the passports of travellers, and to suffer no strangers to settle within the limits of their command, without regular leave obtained from government. They are to prevent smuggling, to certify that all lands, petitioned for by the inhabitants, are vacant before they are granted, and when required, put the owner in possession. They are besides notaries public, and in their offices it is necessary to register all sales of lands and slaves and even to make the contracts for those purposes, before them. They act as sheriffs, levy executions on property, attend and certify the sale, and collect the proceeds. They also take inventories of the property of intestates. By an ordinance of baron Carondelet, Syndics are established every three leagues, who are subordinate to the commandant, decide small causes, and have the police of roads, levies, travellers, and negroes.

[50] See note 49.

[51] For the table of money in use in Louisiana, see note 34. The piastre was the Spanish dollar or peso.

[52] The buffalo, or American bison.

[53] See note 63.

[54] Compare the blowguns used by the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, and by some of the South American Indians.

[55] The Spanish policy of making money and presents the basis of all negotiations with the Indians, Perrin du Lac asserts would be a stumbling block in their administration by any power that might succeed Spain in Louisiana.

> Every savage crossing a Spanish country obtains the same rations as do soldiers for so long as he wishes to stay there. In harsh seasons and climates they are even clothed and provided with everything that can be necessary to them.

The amount of the annual presents has some years reached as high as 1,130,000 livres. The French managed the Indian better. The latter must be governed strictly but justly.

> If the Spanish government is to-day despised by most of the nations with whom its traders have traffic, it is because too weak to be just, it left the first murders committed on them unpunished. The Indians count so upon that weakness that they mock at the remonstrances received from them in the very presence of the commandants; and those who have been arrested rarely leave prison without committing new murders or stealing horses. — See Perrin du Lac's *Voyage*, 415-419.

See the lists of presents distributed to the Indians by the Spaniards in the Louisiana territory in Houck's *Spanish Régime*.

[56] The class of freedmen is composed of negroes, and principally mulattoes, of slave origin, who have all bought or obtained their freedom from their masters, or have received it from their parents who acquired it in that manner. Part of them who live in the country cultivate food products, especially rice, and some small fields of cotton. A great number, men, women, and children, crowded together in the city, are busied some in the mechanical arts, for which they have great aptitude and little attachment, or in some little retail trade, and the others in the chase, the produce of which they bring into the city where they sell it.

The mulattoes, in general, are idle, debauched, drunken, liars, ridiculously vain, insolent, and cowardly. They hate the whites through and through, who are the authors of their being, and their first benefactors. Since it is the policy of the Spanish government to sustain them up to a certain point, that natural aversion thus supported, sometimes gives rise to scandalous scenes between them and some of the whites. But since there are at least about six whites to one freedman in this country, this consideration, together with their pusillanimity is a check to their arrogance.

The mulatto women do not possess all the defects of the mulatto men. Yet they approach them by their propensity to libertinage, their vanity, which is the darling sin of them all, and (the result of that same vanity)

their hatred for the white class in general, and for white women in particular — a hatred, however, which is subordinated to their personal interest, since many of them live in concubinage with those same whites, through a spirit of greed much more than through the bonds of a sincere attachment.

Both men and women have strong constitutions, and are of medium figure and well proportioned. But they have hard features and their faces are not very prepossessing; and their skin even appears to be coarser and more livid here than elsewhere. — Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 253, 254.

[57] A mulatto, the rival of Toussaint l'Ouverture, who was conquered by the latter, in July, 1800. See Adams's *History*, vol. i, 384-386.

[58] See Adams, *ut supra*, vol. i, 376-398. Among the "French papers" of the Adams transcripts in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, Washington, are many letters from the French officer in charge of Toussaint l'Ouverture during his imprisonment in France. See, also: Dubroca, J. F. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture* (Paris, an x – 1802); *Bonaparte in the West Indies* (London, 1803); Descourtilz, M. E., *Voyages d'un naturaliste* (Paris, 1809); and Schoelcher, V. *Vie de Toussaint Louverture* (Paris, 1889).

[59] Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc was the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and was sent by the latter to put down the insurrection in San Domingo. He died there of the fever. Many manuscript letters from him are found among the Adams transcripts in the French papers. See, also: Bouvet de Cressé, J. B. *Histoire de la catastrophe de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1824).

[60] General Rochambeau, son of Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, and who had served under his father in America during the revolt of the English colonies, succeeded Leclerc in San Domingo. He committed great atrocities in his fruitless attempt to restore order in that island.

[61] After the cruel experience of San Domingo, which will probably have opened the eyes of all those philanthropists who take no account of the prosperity of empires when it seems to be contradictory to those sentiments of humanity, with which they often feign to have been endowed by nature, I am far from obliging any government to loosen the bonds of slavery. One must allow slaves to exist in their integrity or lose the colonies. — Perrin's du Lac, *Voyage*, 409.

[62] It appears from Pontalba's *Mémoire* [Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 437, 438], that San Domingo was supplied from the United States with wood materials, instead of from Louisiana, its natural

market, because wages in Louisiana were twice as high as in the United States.

[63] In Perrin du Lac's chapter on the commerce of Louisiana in his *Voyage*, 397-407, occurs the following:

> Since Louisiana produced neither grain, vegetables, nor salt provisions of any kind, it was supplied with them before the war by France, whither the inhabitants of that colony went under the Spanish flag to procure everything that they could need. But for more than ten years, the Americans have been the ones to sell there the things of prime necessity, and supply all those who can not produce them. They receive piastres in exchange which they carry to Philadelphia, partly by horse, and partly by wagon. . . Clothing, furniture, arms, or other goods of all sorts, necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants, were also furnished them throughout the war by the Americans. In exchange the latter received their sugar, indigo, and cotton, which they sold in Europe, especially in England, whence they brought back the products of their manufactures. . .
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> All the imposts laid in Louisiana by the Spanish government were reduced to a duty of six per cent on imported goods, as well as on products exported from the colony. On this head, as on many others, the policy of the United States is much preferable to that of the Spaniards. Duties on the goods manufactured by them, as well as on the products of their lands, are almost nil, while the duties on imported articles are rightly inversely to the need for those goods. . . However low the duties laid in Louisiana, it is probable that they would have sufficed for the administration of the colony if they had been strictly paid and distributed with order and economy. But the contraband trade which has always been in this government the chief part of the income of employees of all grades, has compelled the king of Spain to send annually considerable sums of money there despite the moderate tax.

Among the Louisiana and Florida papers of the Cuban archives is a printed document dated New Orleans, August 27, 1796, and entitled "Tarifa acordado por el comercio de la Provincia de la Luisiana, à la al en consecuencia y observancia de lo provenido por S. M. en Real orden de 24 de Mayo de 1796, se arreglará la Administracion general de rentas de esta ciudad, y ademas de la Provincia para la exaccion de los derechos Reales que deben satisfacer las mercaderias, y efectos de importacion procedentes de Puertos extrangeros baxo las reglas de la Real orden de nueve de Junio de 1783." A transcript of this schedule is conserved in the Library of Congress.

Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii] touches the matter of commerce in Louisiana in various passages. He says [page 215]:

> The laziness, or rather love of quiet, which is generally observed in men who inhabit warm climates, does not permit the inhabitants of Upper

> Louisiana to obtain from their lands all the wealth which ordinarily results from industry stimulated by interest. The measure of their work is that of their needs, which, being limited to strict necessity, are very easy to satisfy. All agriculture which produces over and above their needs appears just so useless to them that articles of exchange are but little multiplied, and commerce, which animates everything, causes new needs to arise, and gives numberless impulses to industry, is almost dead in Upper Louisiana.

However, the same author gives [page 216] the exports of Upper Louisiana for 1795 as follows: 5,500 barrels of wheat flour, at four piastres per hundred weight, and 21,000 minots of maize for the territory about St. Louis; 2,900 barrels of flour at the same price, and 13,000 minots of maize, for Ste. Genevieve; and 7,000 barrels of flour, and 55,000 minots of maize, for New Madrid. The Illinois Territory belonging to the United States furnished that same year, 5,000 barrels of flour, and 30,000 minots of maize; although the flour from the latter district was better than that from the Spanish districts, because of superior milling. Immense herds of stock [*ut supra*, 235] were found in Louisiana, especially in the districts of Attakapas, Opelousas, Lake Barataria, Chitimacha, and Wachita. The price of horned cattle was four piastres each, and of horses, six or eight. See also, *ut supra*, 236-275 for the fur trade. Pages 269-275 is a "list of the articles of exchange suitable for the trade of the western states [of the United States] and of Upper and Lower Louisiana, and of the fur trade with the Indian nations, to serve as a guide to traders."

The following summary is made from *Account of Louisiana*, 46-50: the value of the exports from Louisiana in 1802 amounted to about $2,158,000. The treasury of the United States showed imports from Louisiana and the Floridas as follows: 1799, $507,132; 1800, $904,322; 1801, $956,635; 1802, $1,006,214. Exports from the United States to Louisiana and the Floridas amounted to: 1799, foreign articles, 1799, $3,056,268, domestic, $447,824; 1800, foreign, $1,795,127, domestic, $240,662; 1801, foreign, $1,770,794, domestic, $137,204; 1802, foreign, $1,054,600, domestic, $170,110. In 1802, 268 vessels entered the Mississippi, most of which were American. That same year, 265 vessels left the river, of which 158 were American, 104 Spanish, and 3 French. During the first six months of 1803, 173 vessels entered, representing a total tonnage of 23,155 tons. During that time, 156 vessels left, of which 68 were American, 80 Spanish, and 8 French. There was a considerable coasting trade between Pensacola, Mobile, and other points, and New Orleans. That be-

tween Attakapas and Opelousas, and New Orleans would have been greatly improved by the removal of fallen timber, etc. At the time of the transfer there were but few manufactures in Louisiana. The Acadians (then as to-day) wove their cottonades, and a mixed cotton and woolen cloth intended for the negroes was woven in certain districts by the poorer planters. There was one machine for spinning cotton in the parish of Iberville and another in Opelousas, but they were generally inactive. Considerable cordage was manufactured in New Orleans. In and about the latter city were twelve taffia distilleries and one sugar refinery, which turned out about 200,000 pounds of loaf sugar.

[64] Stoddard [*Louisiana*, 158] rightly says that there were four gates.

> The two next the river were the most considerable, and they were situated sixteen hundred and twenty yards from each other. The two in the rear . . . were of much less note; one of them was placed on the road leading to Lake Pontchartraine. They were defended by a breast work of no great strength or utility. All the gates were of wood, formed of palisades ten or twelve feet long. They were shut every night at nine o'clock, and after that hour no one was permitted to walk the streets without leave from the governor; those who transgressed this regulation were seized by the guards, and detained till morning.

[65] This suburb, located above the city, was called Ste. Marie or St. Mary's, and was incorporated with New Orleans soon after the transfer.

[66] The settlement of Terre aux Boeufs was also called San Bernardo or St. Bernard. It was a tongue of land located about twelve miles below New Orleans on both sides of a bayou at the head of the English Turn, and extended for about a mile between cypress swamps. It was divided into two parishes which were inhabited largely by people from the Canary Islands. The population at the time of the transfer of Louisiana numbered about eight hundred. They were generally poor and cultivated their own lands as they had no slave labor. They raised produce for the New Orleans market. See *Account of Louisiana*, 13, 14; and Stoddard's *Louisiana*, 161.

[67] Now a part of New Orleans.

[68] The fear of the Spaniards that the Americans would penetrate into Mexico by the overland route through New Mexico, and thus deprive Spain of its source of wealth – the silver mines, and the rich commerce – amounted to a veritable hysteria. See various documents following, where this fear is fully expressed.

[69] See note 55.

[70] Pontchartrain.

[71] The Rigolets Pass connecting Lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne.

[72] The Gulf of Mexico. Alliot's geography is not strictly accurate here.

[73] See Peter Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1897).

[74] Hutchins [*Hist. Narrative*, 77] thus describes Pensacola:

> The town of Pensacola is of an oblong form, and lies almost parallel to the beach. It is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, but contracts at both ends. At the West end is a fine rivulet, from which vessels are supplied with water. The present fort was built by the writer of this narrative in 1775, with cedar pickets, with 4 block houses at proper distances, which defend or flank the works. It takes up a large space of ground just in the middle of the town, which it divides in a manner into two separate towns, and can be of no great service towards the defence of the place, in case an attack be made on it, either by the natives or a civilized enemy.
>
> The town of Pensacola is surrounded by two pretty large brooks of water, which take their rise under Gage hill, a small mount behind the town, and discharge themselves into the bay, one at each extremity of the town. . .
>
> The hopes of a Spanish trade induced many people to settle here, at a great expense, but it did not answer their expectation. The principal objects ought to be the Indian trade, indigo, cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco, and lumber, these being the natural produce of the country. Tho' Pensacola stands in a very sandy situation, yet with pains the gardens produce great plenty of vegetables. Fruit trees, such as orange, fig, and peach trees are here in perfection. And the bay abounds with a variety of fine fish.

See also Robin's *Voyages*, vol. ii, 1-23. Under the Spaniards the prosperity obtained by the English soon gave way to ruin and the city and its district deteriorated rapidly.

> The air is so pure at Pensacola that sick persons from Louisiana frequently go there to stay [page 7]. The roadstead of Pensacola, by its location, its security, its extent, and the course of present events, will always be of the greatest importance to the power in possession of it. It is the only one in the Gulf of Mexico where a great number of vessels can be secure against all winds [pages 14, 15].

[75] The importance of the post of Apalaches (located in West Florida almost at the thirtieth degree of north latitude) lay in its relations with the natives of the interior, and a slight fur trade. See: Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 64.

[76] For Muskogee, Muskoki, or Măskóki, and used here to designate

one of the families of that stock, the Creeks. See: Hodge, F. W. *Handbook of American Indians* (*Bulletin*, no. 30, of the Bureau of American Ethnology), vol. i, 961-963.

[77] The pape or pope bird is also called pop, red pop, painted finch, nonpareil (scientific name, *Passerina ciris*). The cardinal bird is also called redbird (scientific name, *Cardinalis cardinalis*). The evéque (creole name) or bishop bird, is also called blue pop and indigo bunting (scientific name, *Passerina cyanea*). See: *Standard History of New Orleans* (Chicago, 1900), 350, 351.

[78] Cleset's Rouge.

[79] The first Germans settled in Louisiana were those sent over by Law in 1720 and 1721. After Law's downfall, these Germans decided to return to Europe, and were with difficulty persuaded by Bienville to remain in the lands which he assigned them above New Orleans, their district later receiving the name Côte des Allemands or German Shore. Their descendants were among the most industrious inhabitants of the colony. Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 251, 252], says of them:

> The Germans were formerly very numerous in this colony, whither they were transferred, as were the Acadians later. Not one of those who were imported is now alive, because they were transported here long ago. But since that time some other individuals of that nation have come hither, who are still living, and who, like most of the creoles of German origin, very numerous in the country, are easily recognizable, either because of their accent or because of their highly-colored and blonde complexion, or finally, because of their propensity to intoxication, their inhospitality, their harshness of character, which is, so to say, innate, and that ferocious brutality which seems to belong in common to that nation. For the rest, they are honest folk, industrious planters, and skilful artisans, although as strongly attached (and this is not saying little) to their routine as to their interests, and are little or not at all susceptible of large viewpoints.

Robin [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 239, 240] speaks as follows regarding them:

> These Germans living in the midst of the French have preserved their taciturn character, their language, and their customs. They do not possess that open and affectionate exterior of the French. They are selfish, but peaceable and honest. They engage in cultivation themselves; few of them own negroes. Although originally northern, they are so well acclimated that yellow fever never troubles them in their labors. That fever is reserved for those who live at New Orleans in inactivity or in the too lively excitement of passion and intemperance. Those Ger-

mans, the purveyors of the city . . . are in ease without having acquired great riches.

See, also: Deiler, J. Hanno. *Die ersten Deutschen am unteren Mississippi und die Creolen deutschen Abstammung* (New Orleans, 1904); and Franz, A. *Die Kolonisation des Mississippitales* (Leipzig, 1906).

[80] Bonnet Carré Point is forty miles from New Orleans, and receives its name from the fact that the river makes a sharp bend at that place, which resembles a square cap in shape.

[81] The settlement of Canterelle may have been named from a plantation. Gayarré mentions several Louisianians by the name of Canterelle or Cantrelle.

[82] See note 22.

[83] Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 51-53] says of this district:

We find the district of La Fourche located about twenty leagues above New Orleans, on the right bank of the Mississippi, on both the shores of one of its arms, which loses itself in the sea. . . That district is inhabited, as well as the shore below and above La Fourche by the Acadians who were transferred to this country after the peace of 1763, their children, and some Spaniards, Bas-Bretons, and others. It is the quarter of the colony where the white population is most numerous, because of the extent of the place.

Those Acadians who form the greater part of that population, they and their children, are simple and good people, although gross — as must be people without education and means and cast into this corner of the world, where for part of the year, they live isolated and shut in, at least so far as concerns communication by water with the banks of the river and the chief city which is the only highway of commerce in this colony, and which is then closed to them. It can not be denied also that they are generally indolent, and because of their inertia, very wretched. Most of them generally go barefoot, and live in miserable cabins, where scarcely a table or bench is to be found. They live on salt pork and corn pone, although they possess fertile lands where all things grow well, especially cotton. That could procure them some ease, since the culture of that plant is very easy, and they would have, besides, in their numerous families, a sufficient number of hands for its care and harvest. However, they cultivate of it only what is absolutely necessary for the manufacture of some pieces of cottonade, coarse but of excellent weave, which they make themselves, and which they dye with indigo and some other ingredients. They use part of that cottonade for their dress and the rest is sold by them. They also sell their maize, fowls, and hogs, which they take to the city when the rise of the waters of the river,

covering the bar between that river and the arm of La Fourche, allows them to go out by pirogue from their recesses. . .

For the rest, that district, such as it is, puts nothing into the balance of the trade of this country; and, as to the use a colony may be to its mother country or to any other commercial nation, by reason of its productions, it would be as well placed in the mountains of Asturias or in Basse-Bretagne, as in Louisiana. This is in part due to the heedlessness and apathetic inaction of its inhabitants who are cooped up in their hole for seven or eight months of the year where they have allowed the entrance of their arm of the river to be more and more obstructed by the successive deposits of floating wood and mud, so that the river can reach there now only at the rising of its waters from mid-February to mid-June.

Also, the same author [*ut supra*, 250, 251] says:

The Acadians are the remnants or descendants of those French colonists who were transported here directly from the end of North America, their fatherland, or from Europe. Land and agricultural tools were distributed to them and they were fed and clothed during the first period of their transplanting and residence in this country. But, for the rest, it has been impossible for the Spanish government to change their natural laziness, to awaken them from their deep apathy, and in short, to inspire them with an energy whose germs are not in themselves. They are coarse men (honest people, however), slow, not ardent in toil, bigoted, and of few means. They live wretchedly on their miserable plantations and their whole care is limited to the cultivation of maize, in raising porkers [*gorets*], as they say, or hogs, and begetting children. Hence all about their poor and rustic abodes are to be seen only ragged brats and hogs, all mixed pell-mell, and the ones as filthy as the others; and at the cabin doors, tall stalks of girls as stiff as pokers, and hulking, clownish boys, who are, as well as the girls, absolutely idle most of the time, vacantly looking at those passing to and fro; all of them clad from top to toe in that coarse cottonade, striped with dyes, which they make themselves, but slowly as they do everything else.

The *Account of Louisiana* says that the creek or bayou of La Fourche was called the Riviere des Chitamachas on the old maps. The entrance at the Mississippi was navigable only at high water, when vessels of sixty or seventy tons could enter it. The best and quickest entrance into the district, which was divided into the two parishes of Attakapas and Opelousas, was by way of the Plaquemine Bayou, whose entrance was seven leagues higher than that of La Fourche. Much of the products of the district was sent to New Orleans.

[84] The district of Atacapas is a plain twenty or twenty-five leagues long by seven or eight wide, bounded at its lower end by the sea, at its upper end by the district of Opéloussas, on the side next the Mississippi by lagoons and swampy places, and on the other by arid ridges or hillocks,

called pineries in those places because they are covered with pines. That district is generally bare of wood, intersected by small pools of water, covered with large meadows, favorable for the breeding of cattle, and watered by the Bayou-Téche which opens into the sea and which is large enough for one to ascend by it to the middle of the district with large bateaux nearly all the year, and with vessels of one hundred tons and even more. This is an advantage from which that district has as yet derived almost no profit, because of the nonchalant heedlessness of the inhabitants of the place, as well as of the agents of the Spanish government, and perhaps also for political reasons on the part of the government itself which apparently would not relish seeing boats of a certain size penetrate from the sea into the interior of this country which lies near their possessions of New Mexico. – Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 54.

[85] The district of Opéloussas follows the preceding [i.e., Attakapas] at the upper side as one plunges into the interior. This district has an appearance and peculiarities that are unique in the colony of Lower Louisiana. It is an intermixture of hills and valleys, and presents an agreeable diversity of high and level country, to the eye tired by the monotony of the sites of the rest of the country, where nothing is ever seen but a level horizon, shut in by a curtain of forest, whose gloomy and somber perspective is always the same. This is very different from that which one enjoys in that district, which varies every moment, and at the least change of position, the picturesque points of view with which it is embellished. Another advantage or pleasure, at least, peculiar to that district, is that of the springs and clear running water by which it is irrigated. Everywhere else one sees only the dull and gloomy waters of the river and bayous, or the still, brackish water of the lakes. That district is about the same length as the preceding, but is broader. However its soil, covered with hillocks, is, in general, less fertile. Bounded at its lower extremity by Atacapas, it is bounded on the side which separates it from the Mississippi by low submerged lands, and on its other sides by eminences or pineries, which extend far into the interior of the continent, separated by extensive valleys and covered with large forests.

The principal product of this district and of Attakapas was cotton, with a little indigo. Grapes and wheat succeeded well, and cattle abounded. The white population was large and generally healthful. More blacks were needed to reach the best results. – Abstract from Berquin-Duvallon's *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 54-57.

[86] Manchac (Massiac, Manchaque, Ascantia – its former Indian name) is located on the pass of that name, connecting Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas. The river formerly called the Iberville, is now known as Bayou Manchac. By the treaty of 1763, it fell into the hands of the English, who constructed Fort Bute there in 1768, opposite

and only four hundred paces from a French fort constructed in 1767. This English fort was captured in 1779 by Galvez. The population of this settlement, which was only seventy-seven in 1785, was two hundred and eighty-four in 1788. See F. H. Hodder's edition of Pittman's *Mississippi Settlements* (Cleveland, 1906), 64, 65 (this account is translated almost verbatim by Collot, in his *Voyage*, vol. ii, 108-110). See, also Gayarré's *History*, vol. ii.

[87] Some miles below the mouth of the Red [*Rouge*] River, on the opposite bank, is the small fort of Baton-Rouge, occupied by a few Spanish soldiers under command of a sub-lieutenant. All the vessels that ascend or descend are obliged to stop there, in order to repeat the declaration that they have made or that which they will have to make at the American fort. That fort is of so little importance and the number of its inhabitants so inconsiderable that I shall not stop to speak of them. A few huts rather than houses are scattered here and there in its environs, and are inhabited by poor, dirty, and lazy Spaniards. — Perrin du Lac. *Voyage*, 376.

[88] Pointe Coupée [is] the first post with the title of parish in Lower Louisiana along the Mississippi. Almost all its inhabitants are enriched by the cultivation of cotton, for which its lands are extremely well suited. Well-built houses line the two shores of the river. . . In all Lower Louisiana, only the shores of the river are suitable for agriculture, and yet they have to be protected from inundation by means of a dike. The lands distant from the river, being low and muddy, are generally submerged for a great part of the year by the rains which usually fall throughout the spring and much of the summer.

The Acadians who migrated thither in 1714 at the cession of their country by France to England, inhabit the upper part of the district along the Mississippi. Generally unambitious, they are in a wretched state of poverty.

The Acadians are generally good and hospitable, and never let a stranger enter without offering him refreshment, but one must be very hungry to resolve to eat the dishes they prepare. As to the rich proprietors who are very numerous there, they are for the most part recent arrivals from France. These welcome travelers with urbanity, and their thorough good breeding recalls the good old times. — Perrin du Lac, *Voyage*, 376-378.

Berquin-Duvallon says of this district:

The district of Pointe Coupée is one of the most considerable in the colony, in its population as well as in its rich products of indigo and especially of cotton which succeeds there excellently. — *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 50.

The district of Pointe Coupée begins at the entrance of the Tonicas, and ends at the Fausse Rivière. Nevertheless, its first settlements are

found only thirty miles below the entrance of the Tonicas. It is also at that point that the waters of the river begin to be restrained by artificial dikes. Thirty-six miles before reaching the church of Pointe Coupée, one passes on the right bank another channel opened by the waters of the river. That channel has an opening at its mouth of not more than eight or ten toises wide. It is dry throughout the summer, and is never navigable except for pirogues during the highest waters and then only when ascending, as it has, because of obstructions and the rapidity of its current, the same inconveniences in descending as has the passage of the Tonicas. By that passage, the route is shortened twenty-one miles, in reaching the chief place of Point Coupée, that is to say, the church. Ten or twelve thousand souls of both sexes and all ages, compose the population of Pointe Coupée, according to the last census, among whom, there are reckoned to be, however, only three hundred persons capable of bearing arms. Three leagues before reaching the church were the ruins of an old fort, with a commandant and one soldier. Fifteen leagues from the church, on the left bank, were some bluffs by the name of Ecors de la Pointe-Coupée. — Collot, *Voyage*, vol. ii, 96-98.

Robin [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 244-248] says that the population of Pointe Coupée showed a great proportion in favor of the blacks — a condition that gave rise to fears of insurrection. The insurrection of 1796, he thinks existed more in the imagination of the inhabitants than in reality.

[89] The account of the attempted rising as given by Gayarré [*History*, vol. iii, 354-356] contradicts this statement. According to Gayarré, the conspiracy was formed on Poydras's plantation.

[90] See Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, 397, 398, on the naming of Concordia. The beautiful residence of the Spanish governor at this place was quite recently burned.

[91] See William Dunbar's *Exploration of the Red, the Black, and the Washita Rivers* (Boston, 1904), which was published with Jefferson's *Documents relating to the purchase and exploration of Louisiana*, from the original manuscript, conserved in the library of the American Philosophical Society. See, also: Stoddard. *Louisiana*, 378-381; Freeman, Thomas. *Account of the Red River in Louisiana* (Washington, 1806); and Marcy, R. B. *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana* (Washington, 1853).

[92] The district of Avoyelles, according to Berquin-Duvallon [*Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 58], was of slight importance. Small amounts of cotton and tobacco were raised there. Stoddard [*Louisiana*, 185] says of it:

The first settlement in ascending Red River, is at the Avoyelles, about

sixty miles from the Mississippi. This settlement is formed about an extensive prairie, and the inhabitants have a ready communication with Red River by means of some navigable bayous, which penetrate its right bank. The settlers are partly French, and partly emigrants from the United States. They seldom cultivate wheat, because they have no mills to grind it. Corn and cotton are almost the only articles cultivated by them, except garden vegetables. They raise large stocks of cattle and swine. . . They prepare considerable quantities of beef and pork for market, which are deemed of a good quality. The population of this place may be estimated at about four hundred and fifty whites, and one hundred and fifty slaves.

[93] The settlement of Alexandria was located at the rapids of the Red River. The whole population of the district of the Rapids was about 640 whites and 200 slaves.

The rapids in Red River are formed by two ledges of hard indurated clay, a soft rock which extends across the channel at about three-fourths of a mile from each other. In low water each of them has a fall, and during this season it is dangerous for loaded boats to attempt the passage of them. When the waters are high they are not perceptible, and the Mississippi frequently flows back to them. A good boat channel may be cut over each at a small expense. – Stoddard, *Louisiana*, 186.

[94] About four hundred miles from the mouth of the Red River, is found, as one goes upstream, the settlement of Natchitoches. It counts twelve or thirteen hundred inhabitants. They raise profitably cotton, maize, rice, and tobacco. The products of that place pass as the best of North America. Also the king of Spain bought of all the proprietors at a suitable price, but he has been cheated so often, that he has ceased to buy there for several years. Consequently agriculture there has almost entirely ceased. Besides those products, a large part of the inhabitants trade with the Indian nations surrounding them. The peltries resulting from the trade are very inferior in quality to those of the northern provinces. Through that small settlement pass the merchants or adventurers who engage in contraband trade in Mexico. Spain keeps a garrison of sixty men there under command of a captain. – Perrin Du Lac, *Voyage*, 375, 376.

[95] For a list of the Indian mounds in Louisiana, see Bulletin, no. 12, of the Bureau of Ethnology, *Catalogue of prehistoric works east of the Rocky Mountains* by Cyrus Thomas (Washington, 1891), 102-104. Alliot's narrative is very vague at this point.

[96] Not found on the old maps examined.

[97] The Caddos were the leading tribe in the confederacy of that name. Their own name is Hasinai, "our own folk," which the Spanish have preserved under the form Asinai. Their early home was on the Red River, but the invading white settlers gradually forced

them into other regions. The remnants of the tribe now live in Oklahoma, where by the provisions of the Severalty Act of 1887, they became citizens of the United States in 1902. See: Hodge. *Handbook of Amer. Ind.*, 179-183.

W. H. Holmes, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, conjectures that the term "Cocinthis" is intended for Wichita, which was usually spelled Ouichita by the French.

The Panis, or Pawnees, formed the middle group or confederacy of the Caddo stock. See: Hodge, *ut supra*, 182.

[98] The Arkansas River. See Berquin-Duvallon's *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 60, where he speaks of this Spanish post located there.

[99] The site of New Madrid. For the origin of this name, see Houck's *History of Missouri*, vol. i, 105.

[100] This was the village of Ste. Genevieve, which, says Collot [*Voyage*, vol. i, 345], was commonly called Misère by the people – probably because they had been compelled to move two miles inland from the river on account of the frequent floods. See Houck's *History of Missouri*, for various historical data regarding this place.

[101] Kaskaskia.

[102] For an early description of Illinois, see Collot's *Voyage*, vol. i, 316-369. See also Houck's *History of Missouri*; and various volumes of Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901).

[103] St. Louis was founded, February 15, 1764, by Father Laclede, who named it in honor of St. Louis IX. For early descriptions of the settlement, see: Hutchins. *Topographical Description* (London, 1778), 38, 39; and Perrin du Lac. *Voyage*, 186-190. See, also: Houck. *History of Missouri.* An early name of the settlement was Paincourt.

[104] One of the leaders in the revolution in San Domingo. In regard to his collusion with the Spaniards, see H. Castonnet des Fosses's *La Revolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1893), 136 and 163. He and his lieutenant Biassou sold their men to the planters of San Domingo. He went to Spain in 1795, where he was favorably received.

[105] Many of the early writers speak of the freedom from serious diseases in the country districts of Louisiana. People were still vigorous and healthy at sixty. So few were the physicians that it was necessary to summon them from long distances when any severe sickness broke out. See Berquin-Duvallon's *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 53.

Leprosy, however, was formerly not a rare disease in Louisiana. The hospital for lepers was erected by Miró on a ridge of land between the Mississippi and the Bayou St. John. The site was known as *La terre des lépreux*, or Leper's Land. See: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 167, 168.

[106] The meadows of Louisiana are not only covered with grasses suitable for pasturage, but also have quantities of strawberries in the month of April. During the succeeding month the sight is charming. They are then covered with flowers, which being then in all their beauty, offer to the sight the most delightful spectacle. They are infinitely diversified. The meadows furnish not only delight to the eye, but produce, as well as the forests, excellent simples for medicine and dye. — Jacquemin, *Mémoire*, 11.

[107] See note 17.

[108] The present St. Charles. It was long known as Petit Côte, and was later called San Carlos del Misuri. It is near the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ON the present condition of the province of Louisiana. By Intendant Martin de Navarro. [New Orleans, *ca.* 1785.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Translated from the original in Archivo de Indias, Seville, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, Estados del Misisipi, no. 7.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA

The province of Louisiana, ceded by his most Christian Majesty to Spain, November three, 1762[109] is divided from the continent of Mexico by the Mississippi [*Misisipi*] River. Notwithstanding this separation, the French owned along both sides the land which they had been able to appropriate without having laid out boundaries in any part in order to distinguish them. Its land has received from nature more extraordinary influences, than any country known. Its temperature is very healthy, although its climate is variable and its location swampy. Its inhabitants enjoy robust health, are generally well built, agile, strong, and of a rare penetration. The fertility in the women corresponds to its need for settlers. Industry and agriculture have reached a point little known in America.

PRODUCTS. Its products consist of furs, indigo, tobacco, timber,[110] cotton, pitch, tar, rice,[111] maize, and all

[109] The secret treaty between France and Spain. See this treaty in: Onis. *Memoria*, Apendice, 1-5; Lafuente y Zamálloa. *Historia*, vol. xxii, 286-288; Cantillo. *Tratados*, 692-694; Muriel. *Carlos IV*, vol. ii, 499-501; White. *New Recopilacion*, vol. ii, 537-541; and Goodspeed. *The Province and the States*, vol. ii, 111-113.

[110] Robin [*Voyages*, vol. ii, 233, 234] says that there were many very productive sawmills near New Orleans, some of which yielded thirty or forty thousand francs per year. During high water the mills worked night and day, but scarcely at all during low water. The cypress was the only wood sawed into planks and joists.

[111] The rice plantations were owned principally by the Germans. Many more plantations might be started. "The rice of Louisiana is very white; an

kinds of vegetables. It will even produce extensively, wheat, barley, hemp, and flax, if they be cultivated with intelligence.

COMMERCE. Its commerce is poor. It is carried on in the most harmful and burdensome manner to the colony as well as to the king. In the possession of a sovereign whose laws were not opposed to the system of free trade, it could be promised that in a short time it would be one of the most useful and best established provinces in America. The indispensable need for forming a barrier to the great and envied continent of Mexico imposes on us the obligation to think most seriously of establishing it. The method of doing it is not difficult. It needs no more than to examine: its first condition; reason for its decadence; its present condition; advantages that would result from a numerous population and large commerce; whether it would be profitable or harmful to this province to carry on the commerce according to the custom in vogue in our America; what commerce it would be advisable to establish for its promotion, without hurt to the continent.

That the base and fulcrum on which is supported the happiness of a kingdom or a province is agriculture and commerce, is an incontrovertible axiom. The immediate relation between these two departments is too well known, as also is the fact that without them neither wealth nor inhabitants can exist; and consequently, neither progress nor population. In vain will all the ministers in the world watch; in vain will the mines of its precious metals be expended and exhausted: whenever they depart from this principle.

In accordance with this principle, the province of

half-hour is sufficient to cook it, which would apparently prove that it is not so substantial as many other kinds of rice, especially that of the east." See: Robin. *Voyages*, vol. ii, 234-239.

Louisiana was established from the year 1718. For that purpose, France pardoned neither interest nor care, and sent several colonies of inhabitants of all kinds there. Their profession and choice was more fitting to the thought of town settlers than of the cultivation of the country, notwithstanding that there were united with them various German families of great industry and accustomed to rural life. A settlement was made and the foundation of a town promoted, which the mother country regarded as the instrument by which to attain its fortune.

Since the results did not correspond to the flattering hopes that the projects of a company had offered, which were advanced no farther than to cause the ruin of the private fortunes of various persons: the court at Paris wearied after some time of offering that protection which the ardor and the inconstant spirit of the nation offered at the beginning; and its natives maintained themselves by dint of a ruinous commerce to the mother country, for they enjoyed a benefit from which they could not derive the slightest profit, as most of them far from augmenting their fortunes, contracted more debts than they could pay.[112]

Its first condition

The annual trade which they carried on with France from the ports of Europe and even from its islands, would reach five hundred thousand pesos annually. The effects exported in furs, indigo, timber, some tobacco, and in letters of exchange, did not exceed three hundred and fifty thousand pesos – the rest remaining in the warehouses and the major part in debts contracted by

[112] On Law's scheme and the great Mississippi bubble see: Gayarré. *History*, vol. i, 191-232; Martin. *History of Louisiana*, 127; Fortier. *History of Louisiana*; and Franz. *Kolonisation des Mississipitales.*

insolvent persons given to laziness and luxury, and putting industry to sleep in the arms of forgetfulness.

The number of inhabitants who composed the vast country of Louisiana in the year 1766 when Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived, did not exceed five thousand. Among that number were included four hundred soldiers distributed among the various ports and six thousand negro slaves. With the aid of the latter they manufactured a small amount of indigo of an inferior quality and some timber[113] for the Windward Islands.

[113] Hutchins in his *Top. Deser.*, 38, 39, speaks as follows of the lumber trade along the Mississippi, his account being especially interesting in showing method of moving timber:

"In the autumn, the planters employ their slaves in cutting down and squaring timber, for sawing into boards and scantling. The carriage of this timber is very easy, for those who cut it at the back of their plantations make a ditch, which is supplied with water from the back swamps, and by that means conduct their timber to the timber with very little labour: others send their slaves up to the cypress swamps, of which there are a great many between New Orleans and Point Coupée. There they make rafts of the timber they cut, and float down to New Orleans. Many of the planters have saw-mills, which are worked by the waters of the Mississippi, in the time of the floods, and then they are kept going night and day till the waters fall. The quantity of lumber sent from the Mississippi to the West India Islands is prodigious, and it generally goes to a good market."

In view of the present discussions concerning conservation of natural resources, the following from Collot [*Voyage*, vol. ii, 199, 200] is interesting:

"It is generally believed in Europe that the continent of America (and by that is understood the territory of the United States) by reason of its immense forests, can supply the navies of Europe with what they can no longer obtain in the northern forests. The vast difference between the population of the United States and the extent of their territory, doubtless give rise to this opinion.

"But the consumption of wood in the United States is enormous: the new clearings, where the wood is almost always burned; the construction of American vessels which use much more wood because their vessels last for a shorter time than the vessels of Europe; the construction of houses; the various manufactures supported by fire; the *fences* with which all the fields are surrounded from one end of the continent to the other; finally, the waste of all kind made by the improvident people – [all this] has destroyed such a quantity of woods that none is found for more than one hundred miles from the sea or near the navigable rivers. Wood for fuel is dearer in American cities than in those of Europe. With the exception of the forests of South Carolina and of Georgia, the timber, besides being mediocre for the construction of vessels, is not at all suitable for large boats. In Georgia, even the shipbuilders of the United States were scarcely able to find holm oak of sufficient strength for the construction of the six frigates which congress resolved on three years ago. In fact, the little that had escaped the general destruction has just been bought by the federal government. These facts, known to all who have seen the United States, must convince one that the hope with which Europe may flatter itself

The slowness of that progress, the poor administration of the royal treasury, or, what is more certain, seeing the chimerical thoughts that it had had at the beginning vanish, or far from being able to realize them, the court of France was minded to abandon them, and determined to decrease its expenses by making its own subjects to whom it had given being, the victims of the poor administration of its ministers.

Reasons for its decadence

In order to meet the very great business of the province, that court had circulated a considerable sum of money in notes. That was the money with which the king met the expenses of the troops and of the employees, which annually reached immense sums. This was the money that circulated in public, in imitation of our pesos, and it was taken as currency for everything that was sold. But in order to send it to Europe, it was necessary to convert said notes into letters of exchange against the general treasury in Paris, and these were paid on sight as soon as they were presented. Said notes circulated with the greatest credit with this assurance, and those who owned them imagined that they possessed the intrinsic value that they represented, until the payment of the above said letters of exchange having been suspended on October 15, 1759, the paper continued to fall in value in proportion to its loss of credit. This came to such a point that a peso fuerte of our money was

of finding there great resources for its naval construction, is altogether erroneous.

"But the resources which can no longer be found in the territory of the United States are found in abundance in the forests of Louisiana and the Floridas. The great fertility of its soil makes grow there wood of the finest kinds and of the largest dimensions. And since these vast countries are not nearly all inhabited and since Spain has hitherto obtained but a little of this timber, the forests may be regarded as intact, or at least as offering resources which several centuries will not exhaust."

worth eight pesos of that circulating in notes. This unexpected alteration occasioned a general and considerable loss in the private fortunes of those unfortunate inhabitants. From this originates the first reason for the decadence of Louisiana. It was occasioned by the court of Paris itself, and caused the citizen whom it itself had encouraged, after he had received as payment for what he had sold an imaginary money from his prince in whom the public faith had placed its credit, to be left with a shapeless mass of paper which had no other than the remembrance of its former value.

The second reason for its decadence was the arrival of the Spaniards. From the instant of their arrival, the ships from Campechy[114] and Havana laden with dyewood and money which were exchanged for their effects ceased to come. Although this does not deserve the name of commerce, yet it did not fail to be of some consideration, together with that commerce which already existed in the province.

The poor administration of justice contributed not a little to its ruin, for it was a crime to demand justice for a debt contracted by a member of the council or by any person immediately related to such member.

The arrival of Conde de O'Reilly,[115] and the taking of

[114] The Compechy trade in dyewood was famous for many years, and was much exploited by the French and English buccaneers and smugglers. See the narratives of travelers, etc., where this trade is mentioned frequently.

[115] For Alexander O'Reilly's administration of the government of Louisiana for Spain, see Gayarré's *History*, vol. ii, 284-359, vol. iii, 1-41. O'Reilly was an Irishman and was born about 1735. He had entered Spanish service at an early age, where he attained considerable distinction. He served as well in the armies of Austria (1757) and France (1759), and later of Spain. He reëstablished the fortifications of Cuba after the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762. He was sent to Louisiana as governor in 1769, where he established order and by his promptness, energy, and decision (although his measures are generally spoken of as cruel) destroyed the pretensions of the Louisianians of French blood. See the various regulations published by him in Gayarré's *History*,

possession by Spain, completed the extreme of the sad lot which remained to those natives at seeing themselves in the necessity of engaging in a mercenary trade with Havana, whence the thousandth part of the products of this province were never exported; while they could not secure the articles and things of prime necessity for their consumption and support except at the price for which they bought them. From that time the colony experienced the desertion and emigration of various families who went to the French colonies. Property lost three-fourths of its value. Houses were not repaired, for their reconstruction amounted to more than the capital. The farmer planted no more than he could consume, now in despair of settling for the debts that he had contracted during the year, and the government despaired of forcing them to check that emigration. For the colonist having lost all hope of his fortune, preferred what he might do in another country, to the selling in this for a cheap price of what he had produced in this. Accordingly he embraced a doubtful good for an unfailing evil.

Its present state

In the same way that necessity has awakened industry, both always had recourse to commerce, the deity to whom the most illustrious nations with just reason pre-

vol. ii, 305; *American State Papers*, "Miscellaneous," vol. i, 369-376; French's *Hist. Collections*, vol. v, 269-288.

He later commanded the Spanish troops in the fatal expedition sent against Algiers in 1774, after which he became head of a military school, and then commandant in chief of the province of Andalusia and governor of Cadiz. In 1788, on the death of Charles III, he fell into disfavor, but his military fame was so great that he was appointed to the command of the army of the East Pyrenees in 1794. He died while on his way to take over this command. His descendants still live in Cuba. With the exception of Bernardo de Galvez, he was the best governor of Louisiana during the Spanish régime.

sent their adorations. The English were not backward in the Mississippi.[116]

When taking advantage of the free navigation of the river they established a trade which was annually worth many millions of reals to them. We saw them do that with the pain of not being able to remedy it, although, on the other hand, we had the consolation of seeing that the inhabitant and the hunter thus succeeded in profiting from the fruit of their labors.

Thus was the province maintained, and daily augmented its fortune. It owes its present state solely to the wise forbearance of a good servant of the king, and to the illicit trade of the English; for without them, who was there to furnish these subjects with negroes and tools for the cultivation of their lands, by receiving their products in payment? Who would have supplied the things of prime necessity to them? How many ships have come from Spain that would have done it? And had they come what would they do? Is not the method by which our trade is carried on well known? Are not its laws well known? This aid, then, and the distributive justice with which the mariscal de campo, Don Luis de Unzaga,[117] acted during the term of his government,

[116] The Americans inherited the question of the navigation of the Mississippi from the English. That question first appeared after 1763 when Gt. Britain became the owner of the Illinois country and the territory remained West Florida. Pensacola became the center of English influence and trade, but that place was captured by Governor Galvez during the War of Independence, in 1781. See: Monette. *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, vol. i, 402-440, "British occupancy of Florida and the Illinois country." By the treaty of Paris, 1783, it was stipulated [Article VIII] that "The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States." This stipulation, however, had little force so far as Gt. Britain was concerned. See: Ogg. *Opening of the Mississippi.*

[117] Luis de Unzaga, the third Spanish governor of Louisiana was confirmed in that office August 17, 1772, although appointed by O'Reilly as his successor in 1770. His administration of the government which lasted until February 1,

by having suits instituted for debts contracted, placed a check to the conduct of many inhabitants, and inspired others with a respectful circumspection, and all dedicated themselves to work and to a competition never before seen.

In this condition was the province of Louisiana upon the arrival of the present governor, Don Bernardo de Galvez.[118] It was enjoying a profit from a hidden source that it knew not; and was increasing in a rare and extraordinary manner, so that without any one contributing to it, it was obtaining by that chance which is excited by self interest, the prerogatives of a very extensive commerce. This the English did by means of the freedom and liberty which their free navigation of the river permitted them. The French themselves had also found the secret of doing it from their islands. They made use of a passport and of an English captain, and under the English flag, they profited from their cargoes, without the most haughty orders of the government being able to prevent it. They continued to take their cargoes in the

1777, when he surrendered his office to Galvez, was efficient, and he construed broadly or quite disregarded the restrictive commercial laws that Spain sought to enforce. See: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 42-104.

[118] Conde Bernardo de Galvez, son of the viceroy of Mexico, Matias de Galvez, and nephew of the great minister of the Indies, José de Galvez, was the most brilliant Spanish governor of Louisiana. He was appointed provisional governor and intendant of Louisiana, July 10, 1776, and took office February 1, 1777. He sympathized from the first with the Americans in their war for independence, and aided them even before the declaration of war by Spain against England. After that declaration, his brilliant campaigns against the English forts on the Mississippi wrested the lower Mississippi from Gt. Britain. In 1785, he was appointed captain-general of Cuba, the province of Louisiana and the two Floridas. In the summer of that same year he was appointed viceroy of Mexico on the death of his father, retaining the captaincy general of Louisiana and the Floridas. He died in August, 1794, at the age of thirty-eight, regretted by all. Among the papers of the Continental Congress (see papers of Oliver Pollock) in the Library of Congress are many letters which show the attitude of Galvez during the Revolutionary War. See: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 104-166.

same manner as they were doing, leaving to us the disconsolation of seeing a trade carried on by foreigners without the payment of the least duty. What pain for a watchful governor like Don Bernardo de Galvez, who although an eyewitness of this forbidden trade, could not decide on any course of action, without exposing the sovereign authority or the happiness of the province. He vacillated between extremes, without daring to take other measures than that of conformity – a sad recourse.

In order to restrain a trade that was already acquiring too much authority, and which the English despotism might demand as belonging exclusively to it, this governor is taking advantage of the carelessness to which the imaginary right, which they inferred that they had over the waters, had already exposed them, for that which was tolerated at first as a necessity they doubtless thought was an obligation afterwards. Already they were not taking those precautions demanded by honesty in a trade which they were exercising without the proper order from the sovereign or from the government. Already had their audacity come to such an extreme, that forgetting, or despising, perhaps, the sacred immunity of the territory, they built a dock on the land in order to facilitate the passage of the floating warehouses of their vessels. The present governor seized thirteen boats which were then subject to confiscation and cut in part the greatest part of the trade of that nation in the Mississippi. But what happened? From that very moment the introduction of negroes ceased. These natives ceased to experience that abundance which is produced by the coming of traders, and which alone makes for the happiness and the progress of empires. They are beginning to lose their activity and industry, and are maintaining themselves by dint of the persuasion and

watchfulness of the present governor, and with that flattering hope that a speedy peace offers them, which they will see vanish without its effects corresponding to their necessity.

Benefits that will result from a numerous population and a free trade

There is none of the provinces of those owned by the king in America which should occupy the attention of the minister so much as that of Louisiana. The location of the Americans at the entrance of the Belle Rivière [*Bella Ribera*], or to speak better, on the shores of the Mississippi gives us a motive to reflect very seriously on this particular. Although the English posts no longer exist, we must count upon new enemies who are regarding our situation and happiness with too great jealousy. The intensity with which they are working to form a city and establish posts, and their immediate neighborhood to our posts of the Illinois [*Ilinueses*] may be harmful to us some day, unless we shelter ourselves in time by promoting a numerous population in this province in order to observe and even to restrain their intentions. For this purpose, it must not be forgotten that a well-established trade is the chief lever for the increase of a population, and just so long as there is delay in founding it, just so rapidly will the decadence of the few people now there be hastened. The same will attract a considerable number of families, whom the healthfulness of the climate is inviting, and whom the rigor and sterility of other colonies obliges them to leave the latter. Self interest and a bettering of one's fortune overrides all inconveniences, and attracts to one place men from the most remote regions. The mildness of the laws, and the graciousness and humanity of him who is

governing contributes in great part to their happiness.

Since the time that insects troubled the cultivation of the sugar cane in Martinique [*Martinica*], its inhabitants were in consternation, and had it not been for the present state of war, would have sought refuge in other islands. That refuge would never have been found in the island of Santo Domingo because of the fear of the intemperance of its climate and its lack of comfort. Rich inhabitants of both islands would come in order to settle with a number of slaves, who would people the province without any cost to the king, and the good welcome of these would invite others.

For the poor inhabitants who should present themselves – French, Germans, and Irish – there will be a fund of twenty thousand pesos, annually, in order to pay the cost of settling them, proportioned to the size of their families, without the king expecting other return for that aid than that produced to the state by their settlement – as happened with the first colonists of this province and with the Acadians who came in the time of Don Antonio de Ulloa, and who are now the model of settlers in usefulness, industry, and progress.[119]

A poor family may be settled for one hundred and twenty pesos, inclusive of the cost of provisions for two years; and the king will not spend the immense sums that the present settlers who have come from the islands and from Malaga are costing him.

A contract for one thousand German families, mar-

[119] Some Acadians had gone to Louisiana immediately after being expelled from Acadia in 1755 and 1756; part, at least, those who went thither during the government of Unzaga, went from Maryland, where they had taken refuge among the English Catholics. See the documents on the projected settlement by Maryland Catholics in Louisiana, in the *American Historical Review* for 1910.

ried and of good constitution would be cheap at any price. Contractors would not be lacking who would deliver them by way of Holland from those princes nearby, especially from German Lorraine [*Lorena Alemana*], where persons of all kinds of trades should be found. There could be allowed, for example, a number of vessels, which would carry so many men per ton burden, in accordance with the most suitable agreements; and there would be no necessity of depopulating the Canary Islands which are useful for other purposes.

The passage of a number of foreign married soldiers could also be paid, as well as of creditors, pensioned soldiers, or of those who still lack much time to serve, under condition that they would settle; for the young fellow can find employment in the camp, while he who is not so young – the first or even both classes – will have the station of habitant.

For a long time we have regarded it as of the highest importance not to send foreigners to America, as we wished to gird ourselves with the laws that prohibit it. Today the nation, having become more enlightened, has recognized that at present that prohibition is useless, doubtless because the reasons which existed at the time when that determination was made no longer exist. I would be of the opinion that all newcomers who come to America to act as garrison be foreigners. In this way, our ploughmen would suffer less harm, by taking care to replace the dead and the deserters by others, and America would be peopled without harm to our Spaniards.

The above error having been dispelled, and the usefulness of peopling this colony having been recognized, as soon as the population will have reached a respectable

number, a barrier to the kingdom of Nueva España will be fortified and assured. This will be able to oppose any attempt of the Americans already settled on the upper part of the river, and finally, may, in a short time, yield a profit in men, reënforcements, and royal duties more than one would believe.

According to the statistics of this population, there are ten thousand whites and eleven thousand negroes, whose numbers will form a total of twenty-one thousand souls – a very small number for so extensive a territory. The reasons for this backwardness are but too clearly the lack of a solid commerce, upon the base of which the subject founds his fortune. This is the physical reason for its decadence. His Majesty has had edicts and regulations published at various times. He has expended very great sums of money. His ministers have given expression to their zeal and their watchfulness. What has been the result? Let the province itself tell, which in the midst of so much protection is uttering the most pitiful cries, and asserting that it is deprived of the things of prime necessity; that all the things indispensable to life are forbidden to it; that they are exposed to a shameful nakedness – the farmer without tools, the merchant without goods; and what is more they are hopeless of the near establishment of an active, free, and easy trade that will bring vessels to this river which shall compete for the purchase of their indigo, their furs, and their products, and which with equal freedom may carry them out. For, on the contrary, there is not the slightest necessity of settlers expatriating themselves from other provinces in order to come to be co-witnesses of their misery, and who will do nothing else than increase those miseries. But if the majesty of our sovereign taking pity on the misfortune of the province, or moved by

the advantage that would accrue to the state, should decide to offer two things – a trade that will furnish whatever is necessary, and the annual exportation of their products – the royal charity will see that less can neither be conceded nor asked.

The commerce generally adopted in our America might have the same effect in this province, if we did not have to fear the harm that its sluggishness causes to progress, if we did not have a commercial nation as our neighbor, if this country were established according to our system, if our merchants possessed the spirit of trade, if the inferior quality of the indigo here had an outlet in Spain, if we had old established manufactures, and fur factories where the furs could be consumed. Add to these drawbacks the fifteen per cent export duty for foreign ports, with which these articles are overloaded, the inevitable loss to which furs are exposed on account of the immoderate and indispensable delay of a month or two in our ports – powerful reasons which lead the merchant not to export them unless without delay to the ports in which they profit – without counting on the expenses of new vessels, warehouses, and commissions. These things will cause the colony to maintain itself for some time tottering toward its decadence and ruin, if the court does not change its system in this particular; and finally will yield without the slightest difficulty to the power of a providence opposed to its progress. But if his Majesty grant a useful, lucrative, and free trade, he ought to be quite fully persuaded that this province will shortly be in the most splendid condition, and he will be recompensed with profit for the greater part of what it costs him. The subject with the increase of his fortune, would be quick to sacrifice it for his sovereign, and the latter would have the satisfaction of seeing his

subjects in opulence, contented, and the recipients of a thousand blessings under his dominion.

All the labors of the field are carried on by the arms of negro slaves, whom the private interest and the tyranny of men deprived of their liberty, and whom political reasons adopted. If the province of Louisiana had continued to enjoy the benefit which it obtained by means of the illegal trade of the English, it would now have had twenty thousand negroes or more; and consequently, a greater production and greater wealth. But among the other useful things of which it is deprived, it unfortunately reckons this one – which does it great harm. These inhabitants would have continued to endure this lack, if the self-interest of the English had not supplied it the year 1766 when we came to the province. Even yet, not the slightest measure has been taken relative to the sending of slaves, which is quite opposed to the method of making the province flourish and prosper.[120]

All these and other numberless advantages are offered by a well systematized commerce. But if, unfortunately, one be established founded on reasons of arithmetic and proportion on a supposed risk that has no effect, this colony would shortly be seen to change its aspect. The real estate which at the time of the arrival of the governor, the Mariscal de campo Bernardo de Galvez had increased to its former value, would return to its former and even to a greater decadence, and he who thought that he possessed a mediocre fortune, would find it a shapeless mass which only had an imaginary value. Lands would be abandoned and houses closed, the city

[120] See the Spanish laws concerning negroes and mulattoes in his account of slavery, in Robin's *Voyages*, vol. ii, 280-283. On the value of negro slaves in Louisiana, see Berquin-Duvallon's *Vue de la Col. Esp.*, 124. The *Code Noir* of French Louisiana is published in translation and synopsis by French in his *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1851), 89-95, note.

deserted, and finally, those settlements which, with very great reason, ought to be expected to become the most considerable in this America, would scarcely merit the name of presidio. The only resource left to these unfortunate inhabitants if the hope of a well established trade be lost, would be either to go to settle in the American part, or to establish their trade with them as happened with the English.

If the remedy be speedily applied, everything may be composed, provided that it is not delayed longer than the end of the war. So long as this reason remains, everything is attributed to it. Today for a more powerful reason, once surrendered, Pensacola [*Panzacola*] [121] should furnish a new channel to the trade opened by dint of vast sums spent by the court of London for our use and advantage. While this place and all the territory of Florida was ours, we made no attempt to encourage it. All the time that we were the owners of that country, we did nothing but to consume the subsidy and to become tribute payers to the Indians. Scarcely had the English entered and settled there, when they started industry to moving, established a powerful trade with the savages, and finally make from only this last-named port a commerce of five hundred thousand pesos annually. Let us compare the Spanish and English periods, and we shall find that in our time, the sentinels of the place were scarcely safe and that the Indians reduced our garrison to the point that they could not leave its enclosure, while the English opened land communications with and settled among the barbarians with their warehouses, wherefrom they derived great profits and gave themselves up to commerce here.

To attempt to assert or prove that our nation is com-

[121] See page 244, note 116.

mercial would be to adopt a system open to reply. We must humbly confess that compared to the trade of all [other] nations, it is to be inferred that we scarcely know more commerce than the passive one of the extraordinary expenses occasioned by an armament with two or three officers, first and second pilots, a supercargo, superintendent, steward, and an official cook, and an excessively large crew, who absorb the profit that should accrue to the outfitter. This is an evil that will not be remedied so long as it is not applied with that freedom demanded by this matter and which the present ministry has already so greatly advanced.

Enumeration of the trade which would be advisable for the progress of this province, without harm to the continent

All the above reasons, and others that are not here included, beg most justly a general, free, and common trade with any nation whatsoever; to engage in it at least for some time by permitting the entrance into this river of any flag, without any distinction – the sole and only mode of causing this province to flourish, populate, and advance. Hence, the inhabitant will obtain: 1st, a recompense from the disasters which he has experienced by flood, war, and the two hurricanes of August 1779 and the 2d of the same month of 1780.

2d. That they will regard it as a charitable consideration of his Majesty as a remuneration for the valor and fidelity with which they served in the present war.

3d. That the fear which the English have always had of seeing this province favored by means of free trade, will be realized. For on the contrary, it will groan without increase in the midst of protection. The royal treasury will suffer the annual deficiency of the

subsidy[122] without the good effect that should be promised to the king. The Americans already established on the Mississippi will absorb the advantages of this colony. By their conduct they will take the profits of it as formerly happened with the English; and what is more to be feared, they will allure many of our inhabitants to their settlements.

If this trade be permitted, the king may indemnify himself in part for the expenses of the provinces, by imposing a five per cent import duty on all drygoods, and eight for liquors, on their selling price; and another five per cent export duty on all products leaving the province.

I do not fail to recognize the outcry that this proposition will cause. Without losing sight for a moment of the prohibition of the laws of the Indies, we see that constitutions are altered and amended in all states, according to present affairs. From time to time, abuses are reformed, which would be allowed under different circumstances. But the constitution of our trade alone is not altered.

I have been serving his Majesty for fifteen years in this province. I have been an eye witness and all the subsidies that have been sent here have passed through my hands or through my agency. I have seen with pain the sum that should be realized by the export of its products, and the little that they have produced because of the activity of the English, and the ease offered by their neighborhood. All this it is a part of my obligation to report.

Besides in case that free trade be permitted to any nation what harm could result? None, although many should engage in the trade. Will not the king be prompt

[122] See page 177, note 38.

to raise his hand whenever he sees an evident harm? And if this be not done who will supply this province with the goods that it needs annually for its natives and the Indians? From whom or whence shall come eight hundred negroes who may be worked the two first years and after that about double that number?

Who will buy two hundred and twenty thousand pounds of indigo which are generally manufactured?

By whom or where shall be consumed nine hundred thousand pounds of tobacco which are harvested in the newly-conquered district of Natchez?

Who will export the articles of wood, which are not of little moment, if that is not permitted to the vessels from Santo Domingo which would come in other manner without the ballast?

The ministry has no need for the present to consider other points than the above. Once remedied, let it not be for any company to determine in regard to particular things, always mindful that there is no mean between prompt determination and inevitable decadence. If this trade be confided to the qualified ports of Spain, that will happen which happened formerly with regard to two registered vessels from Cadiz and another from Santander and San Sebastian from the house of Laralde. Those vessels, since they did not come laden with goods used here, their agent had to send to Havana the greater part of their linens and the wine that they brought – a claret, wretched in quality, or shaken up in the voyage, and which they would not have taken as a gift. Hardware and nails were the only articles used in the trade of the Indies, but they did not bring the least supply, although this is one of the things to which the preference ought to be given.

The trade in these things demands the most careful

attention, for besides being of great extension, and of considerable profit, it is very useful. Without it, it is difficult to restrain so many and so different nations of this continent, to whom it is necessary to send traders with the greatest promptness. This is the chief way of keeping them quiet.

There is not a single one of the numerous articles in Spain demanded by this trade. We Spaniards even do not know this trade. No rule can be formed as to what they are, for at each step they increase and change. It is absolutely necessary for foreigners to carry on this trade until having learned more about it, the Spaniards, who should never be other than the Catalonians, may with time engage in it for themselves, without the necessity of a foreign intervention.

Who those foreigners should be, who should direct the trade, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind but that it be general and not particular to such and such a nation; for various harms can result.

Many without examining the reasons attentively on which they rely, are of the opinion that only Spaniards should carry on this trade. The thought is praiseworthy, but it is impossible so long as ignorant of the manner of carrying it on, of the articles and goods consumed, the profits and other attendant circumstances, they may practice it, which will always be with foreign goods. They add that it will be advisable to separate these natives from the mercantile trade of the French, in order to make them forget in time, their customs, their necessities, and their love toward their old time sovereign. However this is an error that is bare of all probability; for the man who voluntarily subjects himself to a law which is not violent or who settles under a prince whose love and kindness he knows, is led, beyond all

doubt more by these things than by the point of religion and convenience.

Others are of the opinion that a general trade would produce consequences prejudicial to the royal treasury. For they would load their cargoes here and profit from them at Havana. But such persons forget that there are agents of great integrity and zeal both here and at Havana. If these men wished to forget those qualities, and the trust reposed in them, nothing would be easier for them than a clandestine introduction of their goods.

Others carry their error to the point of believing that general trade in this province would prejudice that of the kingdom of Mexico. How absurd is the private trade of our nation in the same case. Neither this nor that can be engaged in without the permission of the superiors. Besides, if one reckon the dangers to which those are exposed who attempt to smuggle their goods into the kingdom both of the Indies and of other kingdoms which offer a wilderness of seven hundred leagues, with the annoyances of rivers, the transportation of food, and other things that follow, one will see that each piece of the goods that is smuggled in would cost a hundred per cent more than those received by way of Vera Cruz.

In the time of the French governors, and especially during the term of Governor Kerlerec,[123] it was attempted by superior orders to establish in the Orcoquiza,[124] near the Bay of Espiritu Santo a blockhouse or store house supplied with the goods of the king which he had

[123] Kerlerec, a captain of the French royal navy, succeeded Vaudreuil as governor of Louisiana, February 9, 1753. He was the last French governor. See an account of his administration in Gayarré's *History*, vol. ii, 67-113. See, also: Ogg. *Opening of the Mississippi*, 237.

[124] *Sic* in transcript. The Arkansas are probably meant, with whom Kerlerec had dealings.

among the goods of this place, in order to trade with those Indians; and afterward with Nuevo Santander, at the orders of a trader named Blaupain. That building is yet standing in a half ruined condition. At the same time another expedition of the same nature was attempted toward Santa Fe in the vicinity of Gofrion. The end of both expeditions was their arrest at the orders of the viceroy who must have inflicted on them the penalty due them. Consequently, if this happened at the time when the French were in possession of both sides of the Mississippi, with much more difficulty could it be done now, since the Spaniards own the whole province. Whoever has a geographical knowledge of the district will recognize the impossibility.

One of the difficulties offered to free trade, according to some, is that ammunition will be introduced, which could be harmful – a system adopted rather by fear than by reason. Since the English settled in this America, and especially from Hudson Bay to the Mississippi River, they have introduced very many thousands of arms, and as much powder as they have been able to profit from in their fur trade. An immense consumption of them has taken place without us having experienced any evil consequence from the Indian nations near us; and even if this were to be feared, who could prevent the savages from going to buy them from the Americans themselves, who will sell them more than they need? This article alone is indispensable for the greater and lesser hunting of the Indians, hunters, and habitants. It would happen that the fur trade would pass to the vendor of ammunition, and for that reason all or most of the trade that is carried on in this province.

Precautions are always to be dictated by necessity. The agents in whom is reposed the royal trust, since they

are in the place where abuses may be committed, are the ones who ought to show the remedy. What can be bettered is that many things are done in our factories that come from outside the kingdom, which the patriotic zeal of the agents of this province could promote.

Cotton cloths of the taste and beauty with which they are stamped by foreigners are the ones worn here, notwithstanding the royal ordinance. Those which are made in Barcelona are destined [for this trade] but are not worth accepting. The thread which might be used proceeds from the English. Yet if this province were not contiguous with foreign possessions, it could be reduced to our system. Finally, I conclude by setting forth openly my opinion and subject it to the public opinion and approval. A free trade will cause the province of Louisiana to flourish with that rapidity demanded by the present necessity in which the wise administration of his Excellency, Don Joseph de Galvez,[125] the most worthy minister of the Indies, finds itself. He knows at bottom the vicious defects of our commerce; the various tastes and articles used in the very vast countries which the sovereign has confided to him with so great acumen; the virtues of our Spaniards; the needs of the nation; the backwardness of our manufactures; and the decline of our industries, to which is now opening a road which will conduce to the welfare of the state. He will recognize also that if my thought should not be adopted or if it should be refuted as rash, that only the

[125] José de Galvez, one of the best ministers of the Indies. During the earlier period of his life he was considerably influenced by the French, but he broke almost completely with that influence as he grew older. As visitador of the Indies, with unlimited power, he gained a thorough knowledge of Spanish dominions in America. He was a literary man of some note as well as a statesman. The Department of Archives and History of Mississippi (in Jackson) contains transcripts of many letters from Galvez, touching American matters.

zeal of a recognized honorable patriot could have induced me to express it. MARTIN NAVARRO (rubric) [126]

[126] Martin Navarro, the contador, and later intendant of Louisiana, seems to have been a man of considerable ability. During Galvez's campaign against the English he was left in charge of civil matters. He intrigued with the western settlements of the United States, in an endeavor to induce migration into Spanish territory. He was hostile toward Americans. He went to Spain in 1788. See: Winsor. *Westward Movement*, 352; and Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 125, 162, 175-177.

CONSIDERATIONS ON LOUISIana. By Thomas Jefferson. [Philadelphia?] July 12, 1790.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: This document is from Harvard, Spark's Collection, Washington Cabinet Papers, vol. i, 48-50.

CONSIDERATIONS ON LOUISIANA, 1790

Heads of consideration on the conduct we are to observe in the war between Spain and Gt. Britain, and particularly should the latter attempt the conquest of Louisiana and the Floridas.

The dangers to us should Gt. Britain possess herself of these countries:

She will possess a territory equal to half ours beyond the Mississippi.

She will seduce that half of ours which is on this side the Mississippi, by the language, laws, religion, manners, government, commerce, capital; by the possession of New Orleans, which draws to it the dependence of all the waters of the Mississippi; by the markets she can offer them in the Gulph of Mexico and elsewhere.

She will take from the remaining part of our states the markets they now have for their produce, by furnishing those markets cheaper with the same articles, tobacco, rice, indigo, bread, lumber, naval stores, furs.

She will encircle us completely, by these possessions on our land-board, and her fleets on the sea-board.

Instead of two neighbors balancing each other, we shall have one, with more than the strength of both.

Would the prevention of this be worth a War?

Consider our abilities to take part in a war, our operations would be by land only: how many men should we need employ? their cost? our resources of taxation and credit equal to this.

Weigh the evil of this new accumulation of debt against the loss of markets, and eternal expense and danger from so overgrown a neighbor.

But this is on a supposition that France as well as Spain shall be engaged in the war: for with Spain alone, the war would be unsuccessful, and our situation rendered worse.

No need to take a part in the war yet, we may choose our own time. Delay gives us many chances to avoid it altogether. In such a choice of objects Gt. Britain may not single out Louisiana and the Floridas. She may fail in her attempt on them. France and Spain may recover them.

If all these chances fail we should have to retake them. The benefit between retaking and preventing overbalanced by the benefits of delay. Delay enables us to be better prepared; to obtain from the allies a price for our assistance.

Suppose these are ultimate views, what is to be done at this time?

1st. As to Spain? If she be as sensible as we are that she can not save Louisiana and the Floridas, might she not prefer their independence to their subjection to Gt. Britain?

Does not the proposition of the Ct. de Estaing furnish us an opening to communicate our ideas on this subject to the Court of France, and through them to that of Madrid? and our readiness to join them in guaranteeing the independence of those countries?

This might save us from a war, if Gt. Britain respects our weight in a war. And if she does not, the object would place the war on popular ground with us.

2nd. As to England. Say to Beckwith:

That as to a treaty of commerce we would prefer am-

icable to adverse arrangements, though the latter would be infallible, and in our own power.

That our ideas are, that such a treaty should be founded in perfect reciprocity, and would therefore be its own price.

That as to an alliance we can say nothing till its object be shown, and that it will not be inconsistent with existing engagements.

That in the event of a war between Gt. Britain and Spain, we are disposed to be strictly neutral.

That however we should view with extreme uneasiness any attempts of either power to seize the possessions of the other on our frontier as we consider our own safety interested in a due balance between our neighbors. It might be advantageous to express this latter sentiment; because, if there be any difference of opinion in their Councils, whether to bend their force against North or South America, or the Islands (and certainly there is room for difference): and if these opinions be nearly balanced, that balance might be determined by the prospect of having an enemy more or less according to the object they would select. TH. JEFFERSON.
July 12th, 1790.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE Province of Louisiana. By Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos. Natchez, July 5, 1792.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Translated from the original in Archivo de Indias, Seville, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, Estados del Misisipi, no. 313.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA, DESCRIBED BY COLONEL DON MANUEL GAYOSO [DE LEMOS],[127] GOVERNOR OF THE PLACE AND DISTRICTS OF NATCHEZ

This province is situated on the shores of the Mississippi River, and stretches as far as Illinois [*Ylinoa*], over an extent of five hundred and thirty-five leagues, in which settlements are found at great intervals. On the west side of said river, its territory extends to the confines of the kingdom of Mexico, where several considerable rivers rise which flow into the Mississippi.[128] An easy communication is had by those rivers with that part of his Majesty's dominions. On that side, besides the settlements along that same bank of the Mississippi as far as Pointe Coupée [*Punta Cortada*], through an extent of eighty leagues, there are also regular settlements in the interior in the following districts:

[127] Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, who had been educated partially in England, was the Spanish representative at Natchez before becoming governor of Louisiana. In the former capacity, he had been entrusted with the mission of inducing the western settlements of the United States to separate from the Union. Later (1797) he delivered Natchez to the Americans, in accordance with the treaty of 1795. He became governor of Louisiana, August 1, 1797. In January 1798, he published his *Bando de buen gobierno*, and shortly after addressed instructions to the commandants of the several posts in relation to the land grants. He died of a malignant fever July 18, 1799, at the age of 48, leaving many debts. He was an intimate friend of James Wilkinson. In his private and public relations, he appears to have been honest. See: Martin. *History*, 265-267, 273-284; Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 358, 366-371, 386-405; and Winsor. *Westward Movement*, 518, 553, 567, 573.

[128] See vol. ii, the section on the boundaries of Louisiana.

Avoyelles [*Avoyeles*], Opelousas [*Opelusa*], Attakapas [*Atacapa*], Natchitoches [*Natchitoche*], Arkansas [*Arcanzas*], New Madrid [*Nuevo Madrid*], Ste. Genevieve [*Santa Genoveva*], and St. Louis des Illinois [*San Luis de Ylinoa*]; and in the lands of the Washita [*Wachita*], which are located from thirty-one to thirty-three degrees, or so, there is an incipient settlement, which is as yet of little moment.

All these settlements are populated for the greater part by people of French origin, and from the United States of America: the first, the old time inhabitants from the time of the French domination; and the second those who emigrated to this province during the last war and since that time until the present in order to reside there as good subjects of his Majesty.

On the east bank, settlements are found on the same bank of the Mississippi from a few leagues above its mouth to opposite Pointe Coupée, and from Baton Rouge, where the high lands begin and extending to the Yazoo [*Yasu*], the farthest boundary of the government of Natchez. It is inhabited by the old French settlers, and others who have come since – Germans, Acadians, English, and Anglo-Americans in great number. They have penetrated as far as the frontiers of the Choctaw nation west of New Orleans. To the northwest also there are some settlements, which although of little moment, will progress and will very speedily be considerable, especially those on the Amit and Comit Rivers.

The provinces of East and West Florida are included under the command of Louisiana, and are bounded on the north by the state of Georgia and by the Creek, Talapuche,[129] and Alibamon nations.

From the mouth of the Yazoo to the Ecors à Mar-

[129] A branch of the Creeks. For these tribes, see Hodge's *Handbook*.

MAP of
LOUISIANA,
from
Dr. INVILLE'S ATLAS.
London Engraved for Jno. Harrison No. 115 Newgate street
THE MISSISSIPPI or RIVER St. LOUIS
Meridian of New Orleans
District of the CHATAS
Mibamions
UPPER LOUISIANA
North America
ILLINOIS
TEHUACHIS
ATCHES
Lake Pontchartrain
New Orleans
Lake of Ouachas
Mouths of the RIVER St. LOUIS
GULF OF MEXICO
Latitudes of Places according to actual Observations
New Orleans
Bahia
Fort Condé
Dauphin Island
St. Joseph's Bay at Fr. Grove
Cape de Lode

got[130] [*Las Barrancas del Margo*], and somewhat above on the east side of the Mississippi, belongs to the Chickasaw nation, although the Anglo-Americans consider it as belonging to them. From the Ohio toward the north on the same side of the Mississippi, the land is under the domination of the United States of America, although they do not enjoy a peaceful possession of that territory, which is disputed by several Indian nations, who are in reality the rightful owners of it.

It follows, then, that the provinces of Louisiana and both Floridas are bounded on all sides in the following manner:

On the south by the Gulf of Mexico, which continues eastward as far as the cape of Florida, thence bending to the north as far as St. Mary's [*Santa Maria*] River it is bounded by the ocean; running westward from said river it is bounded by the State of Georgia, and the Creek, Talapuche, and Alibamon nations; then it again turns to the northwest to the Yazoo, being bounded by the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, the last of whom continue along the shore of the Mississippi until near the Ohio, where the lands of the United States begin, opposite Illinois [*Ylinoa*], and farther up according to their pretensions; throughout its extent, Louisiana is bounded on the west by Mexico and a part of its interior provinces.[131]

It is seen by this demonstration that the political system which ought to be observed in this province must be to preserve it entire under his Majesty's dominion, so that it might serve as a barrier for the kingdom of Mexico against the ambitious intentions of the United States. In order to succeed in their purpose, those states are

[130] The present Chickasaw Bluffs. See: Houck. *Spanish Régime.*

[131] See note 20.

setting in movement all the means that they can find, indirectly making use of the Indian nations that surround us, and secretly tolerating illicit undertakings of various persons under the domination of the Companies of North and South Carolina and Virginia: the first two on the Yazoo, and the last on the Tennessee [*Tenesee*]. They pretend to have a claim to said territories which they base on imaginary concessions and treaties with the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.[132]

Up to the present time, when the inconveniences that are well known today ought to have been guarded against, no suitable measures have been taken to avoid the progress of the efforts that the Anglo-Americans are making; for it is not alone sufficient to maintain a pact with the Indians, but it is also advisable to have commissioners among them, persons of talent and authority, in order to keep them attached to our interests and to destroy the negotiations of our rivals.

In Kentucky, Cumberland, Franklin [*Francklin*] – and in general, in all the territory of the Anglo-Americans [which] they call the western country that territory located on this side of the Appalachian [*Apalaches*] and Alleghany [*Allegany*] Mountains – are settlements of so great consideration, and whose interests are directly opposed to those of the rest of the United States. This ought to make us very careful, for their well-being is impossible so long as the navigation of the Mississippi is not free, and they are already extending their intention

[132] The text is confused at this point. There is considerable material concerning the companies operating in the Yazoo district (the Virginia and South Carolina Companies) among the transcripts in the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. The third company was the Tennessee (which operated to the north of the other two on the Tennessee River), not the North Carolina Company. The operations of these various land companies has never been thoroughly established. See: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 272-300; Winsor. *Westward Movement*, 376-379.

of frequenting that river freely without any restriction. Since the first of this month, Kentucky (Quentuqui) has made one of the United States. For a long time now it would have been advisable to have had an agent of the king there, with the title of consul or any other that would have been permitted in that country, or even a man without any public character, but under his Majesty's pay, so that he might promote the king's interest there in the manner that appeared best to him.

At the end of the last war when both Floridas returned to his Majesty's dominion, treaties of friendship were also celebrated with all the Indian nations who had before that time been attached to the English, and they remained perfectly inclined toward our government. But, since we do not maintain persons among them, who are suitable for keeping them in this frame of mind, the English of the island of Providence [*Providencia*], and even of Canada, took advantage to intrigue among them and to separate them from our side, by causing them to conceive flattering hopes, which were able to persuade people of that sort, who think no farther than of what is imparted to them by those who treat with them last. At that time we had among them only a few traders who enjoyed some little pension [from the government], but who attended to their political affairs with the greatest of neglect. It is true that Alexander McGillivray [*Alexandro McGivilray*],[133] the principal chief of the

[133] The Scotch half-breed chief of the Talapuche Creeks, one of the most celebrated Indian chiefs of all history. Manuscript letters written by him exist among the East Florida papers of the Library of Congress, in the Georgia Archives, and among the transcripts in the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. See the *American Historical Review* for October, 1909 and January, 1910. See also: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, especially pages 320-325; and Winsor. *Westward Settlement*, 329, 346, 352, 359, 371, 379, 380, 383, 385, 519, 520. Like so many other matters of this period, the history of McGillivray is yet to be written.

Creek nation, was regarded as our commissioner among his nation, and maintained a regular correspondence with the [Spanish] chiefs of Louisiana and Florida. But it has followed from that imprudent confidence that the nation has been separated in very essential points from our interests, and that he has gone much farther than was advised him by making a treaty of commerce and friendship with the United States. He has even received from them a very considerable annual salary, having gone personally to New [*Nueva*] York for that purpose, although on his return he tried to dissipate the just anger that that action caused us.

It is also true that in Kentucky we have had Brigadier General Don James [*Jaime*] Wilkinson [134] well affected to our side. He is a person of great talent and influence, who has twice come down to this province and presented several memorials. In his own country, he has performed several important services to this province. Yet although he was recommended by Don Estevan Miro [135] for a pension and other help, the reso-

[134] There is much about this notorious schemer in the Spanish documents of this period. With a trifle less caution, Wilkinson would have been a very dangerous man to the United States. See his letters published in the *American Historical Review*, 1904, by Professor W. R. Shepherd. See also the Claiborne papers in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, Washington. Professor Shepherd has established the fact that Wilkinson really did take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish government. See Gayarré's *History*, vol. iii, for a good general account of Wilkinson's operations.

[135] Estéban Miró, a native of Catalonia, was appointed provisional governor of Louisiana in 1785, upon Galvez's promotion, and his place as colonel of the Louisiana regiment was filled by Pedro Piernas. He had long been an intimate friend of Wilkinson; and strove earnestly during his public life to separate the western settlements of the United States from the Union. On the termination of his government in 1791 he returned to Spain, where he became mariscal de campo or lieutenant general. He is described by Gayarré [*History*, vol. iii, 310] as a man of sound judgment, high sense of honor, suavity of temper, and energy. He married into the Macarty family of Louisiana. See his published letters in Houck's *Spanish Régime*, and in *American Historical Review*, October, 1909, and January, 1910. Many transcripts of letters by him exist in

lution was delayed so long because of the long distance that separates us from that court [i.e., in Spain], that in the meanwhile he lost his credit in Kentucky for lack of means to maintain it. Lately, in order to recuperate his fortunes, and to dispel the suspicions of congress toward him, he had to take up arms and received the second command of the army operating against the Indians, perhaps with another end in view. From that time, he suspended his correspondence with the governor of New Orleans and with me. However, his Majesty's approval of the pension that had been proposed for him having arrived at the beginning of this year, it was communicated to Wilkinson by messenger. His answer just arrived a few days ago, but I am ignorant of its contents as I sent it under seal to Baron de Carondelet, the governor of this province.

An order also came from the king last year to increase the pension of McGillivray, and to send an agent as commissioner to the Creek nation. This although received tardily, may greatly change the appearance of matters. But this action will be insufficient unless commissioners of the same nature be sent to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations – a matter of so great importance that if it is not immediately attended to, my efforts to keep them well affected to our interests will be useless, in spite of the fact that at present I count upon their good disposition. A proof of this is the treaty which I have celebrated with them in his Majesty's name, by which they yield to his Majesty their right to the lands in dispute – namely those of the Nogales [i.e., Walnut Hills] near the Yazoo. I have just heard that American commissioners have arrived among the Choctaw

the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. See an account of his administration in Gayarré, *ut supra*, 167-311; see, also: Winsor. *Western Movement.*

and Chickasaw nations in order to ask their friendship and aid in order to prosecute the war against the Indians of the northeast. This is one of the most important occasions, when it behooves us to have commissioners there; for at this distance that I am from them, it is impossible to answer exactly for the conduct of the Indians without them. For under the belief, perhaps, that they are doing an innocent action, they will act contrary to our interests, which would not happen if we had commissioners there.

The United States of America offer us two matters against which we must equally be prepared. The first is the body of that nation which is submissive to the government. They will regulate their conduct in accordance with and with the knowledge of our court, and will produce their complaints or pretensions ministerially before taking sides. But in the midst of that nation there is a second illegal and unauthorized power, although it is perhaps tolerated by congress. We must be distrustful of this and be continually on our guard against its proceedings. It is the private association of persons who are nourishing new projects. They are proposing to found new and independent settlements at their own cost. Such are the companies of North and South Carolina on the Yazoo and of Virginia on the Tennessee. For two years or so the first has been making the most active efforts to realize its project of establishing a formidable settlement in the vicinity of the Yazoo, and have even been casting their glances on a part of the king's territory in this district under my charge, and especially upon Nogales. Although this latter district was part of the English domain and was ceded to Spain in general terms with both Floridas (since it belonged to West Florida), it was declared by

the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations to belong rightfully to them. They alleged that although they had sold it to the English, the latter had not fulfilled their promises in regard to it. They only declared that claim to me when they saw me building a fort in the above named district of Nogales, at the time when Doctor O'Fallon, general agent of the Company of South Carolina was collecting forces in Kentucky for the purpose of seizing the territory from Nogales to the north shore of Coles Creek in the middle of this government. By my prompt settlement in Nogales, the operations of O'Fallon[136] were restrained, and were completely destroyed by a decree of the president of congress – perhaps so that the latter might not be compromised if the members of the company made any demonstration against a military establishment of ours. Notwithstanding that on one side I had assured that part of the king's domains against the attempts of the Anglo-Americans, I beheld myself to be compromised with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations whose friendship it was necessary to preserve at any cost. But it was not advisable either to show weakness by yielding easily to their demands; for if we submitted in this district, they would not rest until they had altogether driven us from the lands now forming this government, and which they would afterward perhaps cede to the Anglo-Americans. The latter would form another independent state from this territory, which would be more harmful to us than the United States themselves, because of its proximity to the kingdom of Mexico. And they would assuredly open a navigation by the mouth of this river to the Gulf of Mexico. There-

[136] Dr. James O'Fallon was agent of the South Carolina Company. See Winsor's *Westward Movement*, 378-380. There is considerable matter in the Spanish archives concerning O'Fallon's operations. His career, like that of Wilkinson was one of offsetting the American and Spanish authorities.

fore I continued to prosecute a delicate negotiation with the above-mentioned Indian nations that lasted a year. In that interval I was disagreeably compromised by receiving a positive order from the captain general of these provinces to abandon the fort of Nogales. But since at the same time I had received a royal order, by which I understood the obligation of his Majesty to retain the lands for which he was treating, and besides being on the ground and having reasons (which it was impossible for the captain general to conceive at the distance at which he was) I resolved to continue the fortifications and to complete my negotiations to the point of concluding the treaty of which I enclose a copy. By this treaty will be terminated all the great fears which the dispute in question caused us, for at the same time it makes more remote the possibility of any settlement by the United States in this vicinity.

Besides the above-mentioned companies, there is reason to suspect that at the present time an intrigue is afoot among persons of consideration in the island of Providence [*Providencia*], Canada, the United States on the Atlantic, and the western country of the same states, with the rash end of seizing Louisiana and making an independent state by setting against us the Indian nations under our protection. One of the principal agents was a fellow named Bowles [137] who already had a great following among the Creek nation and who was apprehended in Apalache by order of Baron de Carondelet, governor of this province, and sent to Havana, whence he was sent to that court. That event has truly greatly

[137] William Augustus Bowles had one of the most erratic careers in the history of the south. Though much has been written concerning him, yet the greatest part of the material, which still exists in the Spanish archives, has never been touched. Some transcripts have lately been made for the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. See: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 315-320.

changed the progress of that plan. However, it is all important to keep close watch on their operations, for they may be continued by means of the companies.

The United States are at present raising a considerable army in Kentucky, which to all appearances is designed to prosecute the war against the Indians who are greatly harassing them. But it may also be that under this pretext they desire to have ready a considerable force to give more authority to their demands for the navigation of this river and the boundaries between the two nations. It may also happen that it could be employed to seize the posts of which the English still retain possession, and which, according to the treaty of peace, ought already to have been surrendered to the United States.

In our very midst in this province, there is one disadvantage which must be watched with as great care as those offered by our enemies. This is the quality of the inhabitants who occupy almost all the whole extent of this great country. In Lower Louisiana [*Baja Luisiana*], which may be considered as stretching from the sea to Pointe Coupée along the shores of the Mississippi and to the interior posts of Avoyelles, Attakapas, Opelousas, and Natchitoches, is inhabited by people of French extraction. Although many of them are pacifically inclined, the majority are fond of novelty, have communication with France and with their possessions in America, and hear with the greatest pleasure of the revolution in that kingdom. Especially do the inhabitants of New [*Nueva*] Orleans and its vicinity conceal but little their mode of thinking. I fear that if war were declared on France, we would find but few inhabitants of Lower [*Vaja*] Louisiana who would sincerely defend the country from any undertaking of that nation.

In the upper part of the province, that is, from Baton Rouge to Illinois, most of the inhabitants are Anglo-Americans, with the exception of Illinois itself, where the majority are of French origin. The first would take the part of the United States or of any part of their nation, and the second would follow the example of those of Lower Louisiana.

Having been charged with one of the most important and delicate commands in this province, and having a perfect knowledge of its internal and external situation, I consider myself absolutely obliged to explain the most prudent, safe, and least expensive means for preserving his Majesty's pacific possession of this part of his domains.

When Baron de Carondelet, governor of this province, arrived here in December of last year, he found it in a very poor state of defense. I presented him a plan for the defense of the jurisdiction of the government in my charge, on which depends essentially that of the entire province.[138] My principal tenets were the completion of the fortifications of Nogales, the establishment of a new redoubt on the great gulf, the completion of the repair of the fort of this place, by adding to it two outside batteries, and above all, a small squadron of galleys for this river; that as many means as necessary be set afoot for preserving friendship with the Indian nations of our dependency; to organize the militia of this district in a manner suitable to its condition, locality, and quality of its inhabitants – a matter that in order to make the militia useful and compatible with the present affairs, must be changed from the method observed in other parts of the king's dominions; and finally I proposed as indispensable, to assure the inhabitants in their inclina-

[138] See Carondelet's report, following this document. Gayoso de Lemos's report is probably embodied in it, either in whole or part.

tion which they already in general profess toward our government, by means of promoting the prosperity of their lot, by offering them an easy outlet to the products of their industry, and by favoring them in their method of settling their obligations, in which consequences inseparable from all new settlement shall be made, as well as the other means necessary for the equitable administration of justice and the prosecution of evil-doers, which I have also represented separately.

Said governor has put in practice as much as has depended on him. There is now already a respectable squadron of galleys; and only some smaller vessels are lacking. He has sent me as many of the supplies which I asked as he had at his disposition. With them I am continuing the fortification of this place and of Nogales. He approved my conduct in the matter with the Indians, but he yet fails to establish the commissioners. Fearing the fidelity of these inhabitants, he has not considered it fitting to form them into a militia. However, although I recognize this same drawback, I am sure that I will obtain and accomplish whatever is advisable for the better service of the king. It is not advisable to manifest any distrust nor to conceal any lack of it in them. I have the affection of these people and offer to do the same with them as with the oldest subjects of his Majesty. Consequently, the formation of the militia which I have proposed is advisable, as well as a company of regular troops made up from the perfectly trustworthy men, who are experienced with the woods, part mounted and part foot.

Although at the present time and whenever it may be possible that our enemies are contriving to attack us, I trust to be able to defend myself, the redoubt of the great gulf is essential, both to establish regularity in the float-

ing forces so that all the vessels might have regularly appointed commandants, and so that they may not lack anything that will make them warships, of which I have more than the usual knowledge.

Nothing assures more the confidence and faithfulness of our subjects than to offer them advantages which they have never enjoyed before, and may not expect under any other domination. Such, in general, are those enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects. His Majesty has deigned to dispense very particular favors to those of this province, because of the different make-up of it. He desires to increase its population by attracting to it emigrants from all parts, in order to make them entirely happy. Hitherto, he has bought at the account of his royal treasury all the tobacco crops that have been cultivated in this province. But since that policy is burdensome, he has determined to suspend those purchases and to offer in place of that advantage that of a more extensive commerce than that enjoyed now, in order to offer them an outlet to all their products. The tobacco harvest of last year is the last one that is to be taken. Since the new regulation of commerce is not yet published, the inhabitants are in consternation, for they are ignorant as to what cultivation they should bend their efforts. It would be advisable for his Majesty in his mercy to determine this point so important to his subjects in Louisiana, by extending their commerce to all the ports of Europe, in the same manner as exists at present with the ports of France alone. This extension, without harming the interests of his Majesty, since the trade with France is already a foreign commerce, would infinitely content not only all the inhabitants of Louisiana, but would also cause all the nations of Europe to be interested in preserving this country under the dominion of his Majesty,

since they would also enjoy their trade with it—which perhaps would not be the case if it were in the possession of any other power.

The United States of America have announced their political intentions, so far as regards the navigation of this river, as is seen by their manifesto and by the negotiations which they are at present discussing at that court. It appears almost indispensable to allow them some mercantile advantages, but it would not be advisable that it be the free navigation of this river. I can almost assert that the Atlantic States will cease their demands, if they be granted some trade advantage by sea, such as permitting them to deposit their products in Cadiz, in order to be able to reship them to other kingdoms by paying only a light duty in recognition of the territorial dominion, and if they be permitted to carry provisions to Havana and New Orleans.

But Kentucky [*Kentucki*] and the rest of the western country whose interests are entirely opposed to the other states, would think differently: "Nothing can satisfy us but the navigation of this river;" and in order to keep them quiet it will be necessary for us to grant it them in part, but not as a part of the United States. Our policy would be to negotiate secretly with the western people, their entire separation from the other states, and after that is done, although [they should be left] independent, that they should be placed under his Majesty's protection; and then to grant them mercantile advantages by means of the navigation of this river as far as New Orleans, where they would be permitted to have a factory with a consul at its head. However, they would pay a small duty, which would amount to a considerable sum through the many who would go there. Even if the independence of Kentucky is not attained, this appears

to be the form in which the navigation of this river is to be granted to the United States if it can not be avoided.

This essential commercial point having been established, we have absolutely nothing to fear from the United States, nor of those people who have originated from there and who are now actual inhabitants of this province; and consequently, nothing to fear from the Indians, since it would be no longer to the interest of the Anglo-Americans to excite them against us.

Since it is impossible to cease to continue the settlement of this province, it would be too dangerous to open the doors entirely to the French, but only to a very small number who would come after having been recommended by our embassadors, ministers, or consuls under a special regulation which should be given them for that purpose. I say the same of the Anglo-Americans, preferring in general for new colonists, those of our nation, and the Germans, Hollanders, and Flemish.

In respect to the distrust of our inhabitants of Lower Louisiana, that can be remedied by making it difficult for them to communicate with the French islands of this part of the world. That joined to the advantages which they enjoy of the more extensive trade offered this province by his Majesty, will entirely dissipate any idea of discontent which they may now have, for surely in all the world there is no situation more happy than that of the inhabitant of Louisiana.

The defects noticeable in the present generation will not be entirely corrected, but will be in the next generation, by means of a public education, which may root in the heart of youth a sincere gratitude in favor of the one who has given it to him. This country does not possess this aid. There is no other Spanish public school than one in New Orleans. If his Majesty were to deign to

have some more established throughout this very great province, and especially three in the jurisdiction of the government under my charge, it would have advantageous results, for not only would they form the hearts of the children but would fill with gratitude those of their parents.[139]

Although I speak in general terms at times in this report, in what concerns all Louisiana, it is only in regard to that which the situation of the government under my charge is intimately connected with the rest of the country. Consequently, I do not directly discuss what only actually concerns the governor of New Orleans, who can do that with more efficiency.

Brigadier Don Estevan Miró who will have just reached that court, has governed this province many years. His talent and long experience have allowed him to acquire very important information regarding this country, and he can give more detailed report by mouth.

My love and zeal for the service of the king move me to express these ideas, although in truth they may be unnecessary, for the ministry most wisely instructed will not be without this poor information; yet I do this as a justification of my good desires, and by them, to fulfil my obligation this report was expected.

Natchez, July 5, 1792.

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[139] Baudry des Lozières [*Voyage a la Louisiane* (Paris, an xi – 1802), 186] thinks that very few schools were needed in Louisiana, and that the education of the young could be left safely to the parish priests. The *Account of Louisiana* [pages 38, 39] mentions the public school which was supported by the crown, and says that teaching was wholly in Spanish. There were a few private schools, but in general the per cent of illiteracy was very high. Stoddard [*Louisiana*, 156] says that there were two teachers in the public school, which was for boys only. See also note 41.

MILITARY REPORT ON LOUISIANA and West Florida. By Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana. New Orleans. November 24, 1794.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Translated from the original in Archico de Indias, Seville, Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, Estados del Misisipi, no. 34.

MILITARY REPORT ON LOUISIANA AND WEST FLORIDA

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Complying with the order of June 16 last, by which your Excellency ordered me to give you in the greatest detail all the information that may be gathered concerning the condition and consistency of Louisiana [*Luisiana*]; and that the respective location of its places, forts, and suitable ports, and other points, the knowledge of which is necessary for the plan of defense adaptable to the circumstances of this province be examined by a board of generals: in accordance with his Majesty's wishes, I have ordered the accompanying map prepared,[140] which has been drawn from the most trustworthy plans that could be obtained since I have taken possession of their government. For all the maps printed both in England and in the United States and in France, are absolutely false, especially in regard to the course of the Mississippi [*Misisipi*] and Missouri [*Misuri*] Rivers; besides which the settlements, both Spanish and American, which have grown up since the printing of those maps, could not be noted therein.

Louisiana, which extends from twenty-nine degrees north to more than fifty degrees comprehends some thousand leagues between the mouths of the Mississippi, or the ocean to the source of that river. This is the boundary unquestionably recognized by England in Article

[140] This map does not accompany the document in the archives.

6 of the treaty of peace of 1763.[141] In virtue of that treaty Spain may contest with the English and Americans their commerce with the savage nations who live above forty-four degrees. But I consider that the attention and efforts of Spain should be limited to the conservation of the dominion of the Mississippi to the St. Pierre [*San Pedro*] River, located in the same latitude so long as the increase of the population of the settlements of Illinois [*Ylinoia*], which are yet to be considered as in their infancy, does not permit of competition with the English of Canada, and especially with the Americans. The latter advancing with an incredible rapidity toward the north and the Mississippi, will unquestionably force Spain to recognize the Missouri as their boundary within a short time, and perhaps they will pass that river, if the plan which I proposed to his Majesty in my secret despatch, number thirty-six, of June third last, and directed to the ministry of state, is not adopted.

[141] This should be article VII, which reads as follows:

"In order to reëstablish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian king cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and everything which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. . ."

The text of the treaty of 1763 will be found in: *State Papers* (Doc. 121, 20th congress, second session), 258, 259 (extract); Cantillo. *Tratados*, 486-497; *Annual Register*, vol. v, 233-243; Martens. *Recueil*, vol. i, 104-125; White. *New Recopilación*, vol. ii, 533 (extract); Goodspeed. *The Province and the States*, vol. ii, 25, 26 (extract).

Supposing that Louisiana extended no farther than the Missouri, it would be sufficient to glance at the map in order to recognize its importance with respect to the preservation of the internal provinces of Nueva España and the kingdom of Mexico [*Megico*], which the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers encircle from the gulf almost to the South Sea. At least from the relations of various traders and travelers, who have lately entered by way of the Missouri among savage nations of whom we have scarcely any information, it must be inferred that that mighty river, which is navigable in all parts, takes its rise a short distance from a very lofty chain of mountains not more than forty leagues from the South Sea. It is even inferred that another large navigable river is found at the foot of the same mountains, which empties into the above-mentioned sea.[142] I trust that information in regard to this particular will soon be extended by means of the efforts of the company of discovery which has just been formed at St. Louis des Illinois [*San Luis de Ylinoia*],[143] and the reward which I have promised to him who penetrates to the above mentioned sea by way of the Missouri, and brings back definite information of its location, and the strength of the Russian settlements in case that they are near that part of the coast.[144]

When France ceded Louisiana to Spain, that is, in the year 62, Louisiana did not comprehend more than sixty leagues to the east bank of the Mississippi from its mouths to the Iberville [*Yberville*], and toward the west

[142] The Columbia River.

[143] The articles of this company for the exploration of the Missouri and other documents concerning the company are published in Houck's *Spanish Régime*.

[144] The Russian settlements on the northwest coast. See W. R. Manning's "The Nootka Sound Controversy," in *Report of American Historical Association for 1904*.

one thousand [leagues] from the same mouths to the little known source of the same river.

The whole population of Louisiana scarcely reached 17,000 souls, its commerce to some six vessels, its products to indigo and furs. Louisiana, in the possession of the French, was consequently, almost nothing, and although its inhabitants had some contraband trade in the Gulf (the only branch of trade that could give them any profits sufficient to excite their cupidity), yet since France was so straitly allied with Spain, they did not dare penetrate into the interior provinces, nor yet to make attempts at contraband trade by sea sufficient to excite the complaints of Spain.

By the cession of this province, the French were rid of a territory which the nearness of the English and the rivalry of their commerce made them despair of being able to profit by and to preserve, and whose possession the greed of its governors and employees made very burdensome to them.

At the time of the cession, and while the English preserved their dominion over what now constitutes the United States of America, Louisiana did not especially attract the attention of the Spanish government, for the English, satisfied with the numerous countries that they possessed on this continent, as well as with the lucrative contraband trade which the navigation of the Mississippi and of the lakes as far as their settlements of Manchak, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, permitted them, never thought of penetrating into the interior provinces, and by their industry and contraband trade the province was kept in the same state of languor and poverty as before, so that its subsidy did not exceed one hundred and fifteen thousand pesos.

The revolution of North America and the conquest of

the forts of Manchak, Baton Rouge, Natchez, Mobile [*Movila*], and Pensacola [*Panzacola*] entirely changed the order of things on this continent.[145] At the peace, Spain acquired an immense country, so that from St. Louis des Illinois to the end of Florida, they reckoned more than six hundred and ninety-two leagues; a territory in Louisiana, rich, fertile, and watered by numberless navigable rivers which empty into the sea, and consequently susceptible of a very great cultivation and commerce. Indigo of a quality inferior to that of Guatemala but superior to that of Caracas, cotton, excellent although somewhat short, sugarcane for making molasses, rice of a superior quality, maize, masts, and timber are the products of Lower Louisiana [*Luisiana Baja*]. Wheat, enough with time to support our islands, tobacco, equal to that of Virginia, maize, barley, salt meat, the richest of furs in plenty, and lead mines at the very surface of the earth are the products of Upper Louisiana [*Luisiana alta*]. The population of both is now about forty thousand industrious, warlike people, for whose trade and nourishment, already one hundred vessels per year are not sufficient.

So many advantages are counterbalanced by the unmeasured ambition of a new and vigorous people, hostile to all subjection, advancing and multiplying in the silence of peace and almost unknown, with a prodigious rapidity, ever since the independence of the United States was recognized until now. Their beginnings were those warriors to whom the United States distributed the uncultivated lands of Kentucky and the southern shore of the Ohio, as a reward for their services during the war of independence. The fertility of their lands, the beauty of the climate, the easy navigation of

[145] By Bernardo de Galvez. See page 245, note 118.

the Ohio and Mississippi, the spirit of insubordination and the revolutions of Europe attracted so many people to Kentucky and west of the Alleghany and Appalachian Mountains, that the vast territory which was a wilderness in the year of 1780 already comprehends three states and various settlements whose total population exceeds fifty thousand souls capable of bearing arms, and is being increased annually by more than ten thousand emigrants from Europe.

This prestigious and restless population, continually forcing the Indian nations backward and upon us, is attempting to get possession of all the vast continent which those nations are occupying between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the Gulf of Mexico and the Appalachian Mountains, thus becoming our neighbor; at the same time that they are demanding with threats the free navigation of the Mississippi. If they obtain their purpose, their ambition will not be limited to this part of the Mississippi. Their writings, public papers, and speeches, all have as their object the navigation to the Gulf by the Mississippi, Mobile, Pearl [*Perla*], and Appalachicola Rivers which empty into the gulf; and the rich fur trade of the Missouri. And in time they will demand the possession of the rich mines of the interior provinces of the very kingdom of Mexico [*Megico*]. Their method of spreading themselves and their policy are so much to be feared by Spain as are their arms. Every new settlement, when it reaches thirty thousand souls, forms a state, which is united to the United States, so far as regards mutual protection, but which governs itself and imposes its own laws. The wandering spirit and the ease, with which those people procure their sustenance and shelter, quickly form new settlements. A carbine and a little maize in a sack are

enough for an American to wander about in the forests alone for a whole month. With his carbine, he kills the wild cattle and deer for food and defends himself from the savages. The maize dampened serves him in lieu of bread. With some tree trunks crossed one above another, in the shape of a square, he raises a house, and even a fort that is impregnable to the savages by crossing a story above the ground floor. The cold does not affright him. When a family tires of one location, it moves to another, and there it settles with the same ease. Thus in about eight years the settlement of Cumberland has been formed, which is now about to be created into a state.

If such men succeed in occupying the shores of the Mississippi or of the Missouri, or to obtain their navigation, there is, beyond doubt, nothing that can prevent them from crossing those rivers and penetrating into our provinces on the other side. Since those provinces are in great measure wildernesses, no obstacle can be opposed to them. But, although they should not prove an obstacle, who can be certain that their few inhabitants will not gladly and eagerly join certain men who by offering them help, and the protection to make themselves independent, to govern themselves, and to impose their own laws will flatter them with the spirit of liberty and with a free, extensive, lucrative commerce, etc.? A general revolution, in my opinion, threatens Spain in America, unless it apply a powerful and speedy remedy. I know that once involved in a war so grievous, that object, withal so important, can be ill attended to; but since the evil is still in its beginning, I consider that a provisional remedy can be applied which will remove the effects of the damage until less troublous times permit it to be radically cured.

I have shown incontestably in several secret despatches addressed to his Excellency, the duke of Alcudia, that the whole power of the Atlantic States is insufficient to subject those of the west, who are determined to procure by force the navigation of the Mississippi and to separate from the former, in case they try to oppose their purpose, and to declare themselves independent or to unite with Canada. I have shown the moral impossibility of Spain's being able to attack the Kentuckians and other western settlements in their own country. But at the same time I have proposed the means of sheltering Louisiana from their purposes and of devastating all their possessions by means of our allies, the Choctaw [*Chactas*], Chickasaw [*Chicachas*], Creek [*Criks*], and Cherokee [*Cheroquies*] nations, who fearful of the usurpations of the Americans, will be disposed to make the most destructive war on them whenever incited by presents and arms.

By means to two complete Spanish regiments, besides the regular regiment of the province, one hundred and fifty artillerymen, the six galleys and two galliots which we have well fitted out, and one hundred thousand pesos increase annually for the Indian department, for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and presents, which are necessary to employ the nations with efficacy, I answer for Louisiana and for the exclusive possession of the Mississippi River for Spain against every power and all the forces of the American states, whether united to, or separated from, the Atlantic States. But for this purpose it is necessary to increase the defenses of New [*Nuevo*] Madrid and Nogales quickly by means of earthworks until his Majesty determines upon the construction of those defenses which I shall state below in detail.

These provisional preparations once made, if war is proposed as one alternative to the inhabitants of Kentucky and the other western settlements, and peace as the other alternative, under the conditions set forth in the secret despatch (no. 36) which I addressed to his Excellency, the duke of Alcudia, I am persuaded that the storm which threatens Louisiana and the other Spanish possessions in America, will be dissipated for some years, and forever, if the plan for free trade which I propose in the same despatch with all the friendly nations, is approved. For, it is evident that within a few years, Louisiana will equal or, perhaps, surpass in fertility, cultivation, commerce, and wealth, the western American states. Spain will find in its inhabitants an active force composed of warlike, energetic people, alike suitable for sea and for land service, who can be employed in case of war against any power, so long as it is not the French, for expeditions in America, and especially for the defense of the island of Cuba and the kingdom of Mexico. The royal incomes, which have scarcely reached ninety thousand pesos hitherto, and which will, perhaps, not exceed sixty thousand this year, as I have prophesied in view of the new regulations which have been published, will supply the expense incurred by the royal estate in this province within some ten years in all, even if reckoned at seven hundred thousand pesos.

Returning to the plan of defense which I think it is indispensably necessary to adopt at the present when the western American states, which are soon to assemble in convention, are discussing the taking possession of the opportunity which the present war against France offers them to open the Mississippi, I am of the opinion that our settlements from the Missouri River to the set-

tlement of New Madrid, should be protected by a regiment, by stationing the first batallion in St. Louis des Illinois, and the second in New Madrid, and by assigning the forty leagues separating them on the west bank of the Mississippi to some small detachments to prevent the incursions of single parties which might cross the river; and by maintaining in the settlement of Ste. Genevieve [*Santa Genoveva*], a center of some extent, a strong detachment of both battalions to restrain the settlement of Kaskaskias which lies opposite it. That cordon or line supported at its right, by the fort of New Madrid, at its left by that of St. Louis des Illinois, and at its center by that of Ste. Genevieve, would give sufficient time for the militia, who are all men accustomed to arms, to hasten overland to the points of attack. In this connection, the journey from New Madrid to St. Louis, is made in four days on horseback. The savage nations both of the Shawnees [*Chaoanones*], Abenaquis [*Abenaquiz*], Cherokees, and Osages would form a second line of fifteen hundred men at least, which would not allow any hostile band to penetrate. Lastly four galleys and some very light gunboats [*lanchas canoñeras*] would guard the front of the line and the passage of the river with all the more superiority since the enemy has no port on the Mississippi where they can construct boats of equal strength.

The same four galleys could guard the mouth of the Ohio in the Mississippi; for during the high waters the enemy may descend in force with an expedition, disposed on the same river, which is only ten leagues distant from the fort of New Madrid. If the fire from that fort were insufficient to check their passage, they might go straight against the fort of Nogales, the possession of which would open all Lower Louisiana to its capital to

them, and would give them the means of undertaking the siege of the latter.

The stationing of the galleys at New Madrid, not only renders this project impossible, but exposes it to total loss on entering the Mississippi, because of the superiority of the artillery which they carry, and from the advantage that must be expected from a contest undertaken under the protection of the fire from the troops, militia, and savages from the west bank without any danger on their part.

Supposing, nevertheless, that the combat were to be decided in favor of the enemy, the same galleys would have a safe retreat under the cannon of New Madrid, which the enemy would find it necessary to besiege. In case that they decided to descend to Nogales and leave New Madrid behind, the galleys would follow them, and protected at Ecores à Margot by the fire from both shores [of the river], that is, by that of the Chickasaws who could occupy their bluffs with a thousand or more warriors, while our Indians directed their fire from the opposite bank, it is clear that they would be exposed to the most complete rout.

Fort of New Madrid

The above exposition comprehends the most essential thing, namely, to fortify the fort of New Madrid in the most careful manner, as it will be the first object of the attacks of the enemy. Garrisoned with a battalion, a suitable artillery of twelve pounders, thirty artillerymen, two hundred militiamen, and protected by some fifteen hundred Indians, who could harass the enemy during the siege, by occupying the immediate neighborhood, harassing their laborers when they go for fagots, wood, etc., it could resist all the efforts of the enemy for a long time, and consequently, allow sufficient time

for the forces of Upper Louisiana to assemble and attempt to raise the siege with them.

Ecores à Margot

Supposing that the enemy attained their attempts against New Madrid, if the galleys succeeded in retreating under favor of the current of the river, they could await the enemy at the above-mentioned Ecores à Margot. This place, located forty leagues lower down [the river], the passage of which dominated by some bluffs which run along the east side of the river for twenty leagues will be (whenever the Chickasaws wish to defend it) very difficult to force, since the current carries the boats right to the foot of those bluffs.

He who can obtain from the Chickasaw nation a piece of land sufficient to erect a fort on the bluff located between the Casas and Carondelet Rivers[146] will unquestionably be the master of the navigation of the Mississippi River from New Madrid to Nogales. If hope is taken from the Americans of obtaining that settlement projected long ago by them (since they proceeded to mark it out formerly and spared no expense to gain the goodwill of the nation), it is clear that they will not find a site suitable for a port along all the east bank from the Ohio to Nogales, as all of that bank is under water at the time of high water on the Mississippi. The Chickasaw nation, more jealous than any other of the possession of its lands, recognizes the importance of Ecores à Margot, but a goodly present, tactfully made and in time might surprise their consent. Consequently, I am of

[146] The Spaniards finally obtained a treaty with the Indians ceding the fourth of the Chickasaw Bluffs. This treaty was negotiated by Gayoso de Lemos. The Casas and Carondelet Rivers are the Chickasaw and Wolf Rivers. A map of the region covered by the treaty is among the transcripts in the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. See, also: Monette. *History*, vol. i, 484, and note.

the opinion that the sacrifice of thirty thousand pesos would not be excessive to obtain that end and take away forever from the Americans all hope of preserving a port on the Mississippi.

A regular fort at Ecores à Margot, capable of holding a garrison of one hundred men, which could be supplied from the Battalion of New Madrid, would cost, considering the distance, with all its buildings, another thirty thousand pesos.

Fort of Nogales

If the enemy forced the passage at Ecores à Margot, they would descend to Nogales, which is located five leagues below the Yazoo [*Yasú*]. Its fire, together with that of the other two galleys, which will be stationed below the fort, would unquestionably check the enemy. For the current, as at the Ecores, carries the boats to the east side so that it is necessary for them to pass right at the foot of the battery – facts that would oblige the enemy to undertake the siege of the place in order to pass forward.

This may be so much longer that all the forces of the province will have had time to assemble on the Yazoo in order to defend its bank and the passage against the hostile army. The latter will have in front the above-mentioned forces, and at the rear and left flank a swarm of Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. The Yazoo River, which covers, as I have remarked, the territory of the Nogales, overflows its banks during the high waters to a considerable distance. On the subsiding of the inundation, it presents a swampy region covered with trees, which is, consequently, easy for an army to defend. This post, then, requires the whole attention of the government, and the construction there of a fortress strengthened with brick masonry. The advantages of

its location will make it one of the strongest forts in America.

A battalion furnished by detachments from Natchez, Akansas,[147] Ouachita, and other nearby points, could garrison that of Nogales with thirty artillerymen in time of peace, while in war its garrison could be increased according to circumstances.

The fortified town of Natchez

If Nogales were captured, nothing could prevent the descent of the enemy to the capital, for in that distance of ninety leagues – the most densely populated of the whole province – are met only the forts of Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Manchak on the east bank. The first, dominated on all sides, will never be susceptible of a regular defense. Consequently, I have several times proposed that its works, which are as useless as the sand from which they are made, be given up; and that the governor, artillery, and employees be transferred to Nogales, so that only a commanding officer with thirty men and a detachment of some fifteen dragoons be left in Natchez, as in the time of the French. Those men would be sufficient to protect that district from the outrages of the Indians, and keep the inhabitants in due subordination to the government. Their leader, it is true, would be forty leagues away, but that distance could be made quickly, either by river or by land.

Forts of Baton Rouge and Manchak

The forts of Baton Rouge and Manchak are in ruins. Only the buildings have been repaired since they were conquered from the English. Baton Rouge offers the most beautiful and advantageous location to dominate the river, and to hold the enemy a sufficient time. Lo-

[147] I.e., Arkansas, the modern Arkansas Post.

cated exactly midway between Nogales and the capital, that is, forty leagues from each place, it can favor, in case of misfortune at Nogales, the retreat of the troops and the galleys toward the capital, and prevent the enemy holding the west bank from extending their raids in all the most cultivated part of the province, and oppose itself to the reënforcements of people and provisions which the capital might draw from it.

The fort of Manchak can be abandoned as useless.

It is evident that the enemy in possession of Nogales and Natchez, may avoid Baton Rouge, by directing their march along the road leading to the post of Galveztown[148] and by embarking on the lakes, reach without any obstruction to within a half league of New [*Nueva*] Orleans; but the militia and the savages, who would be lurking among the thickets, would very greatly harass them. Besides New Orleans can not be taken without a train of heavy artillery, and artillery can not be transported through those districts, without the most severe labor.

Fort of Galveztown

Notwithstanding that the post of Galveztown is the much frequented road both for Americans who are on their way from Georgia and Natchez, and for the Savages who descend from the capital and other points, and in consideration of the fact that since the lakes communicate by means of the Iberville [*Ybervile*] and Amit Rivers with the Mississippi, an enemy, if master of the sea, can avoid the defenses raised at the mouth of the Mississippi and reach the middle part of Lower Louisiana by passing through the above-mentioned lakes in small boats, such as sloops [*balandras*] and galliots,

[148] The modern Galveston, Texas, which was named about 1782 for Conde Bernardo de Galvez.

through the rivers, and thence to Manchak. Thence, if the inhabitants proved favorable, they could descend by the Mississippi River to the capital without the least trouble, and become master of the coasts. If not, they could cut the communications between Nogales and New Orleans by fortifying themselves at Baton Rouge. Hence, I consider it highly essential to rebuild the totally ruined fort at Galveztown, which should be located on the point formed by the junction of the Amit and Iberville Rivers. Some twenty thousand pesos would be sufficient for its construction and that of its buildings, and would make it capable of holding one hundred men in time of war, who could be supplied from the garrison of New Orleans. One hundred and fifty militiamen of the district, supported by a body of Choctaw Indians, would suffice to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the province by way of the lakes, or by way of the nations, in case that they obtained their purpose of separating them from Spain.

Fort of Akansás [*i.e., Arkansas Post*]

There still remains one passage to close to the enemy, by which, if they should force the passage of Ecores à Margot, they might be able to penetrate into the region of Lower Louisiana. It is on the west bank of the Mississippi before passing by the fort of Nogales, and is the Arkansas [*Akansás*] River which is navigable for keel boats. By it the enemy might enter as far as the town located at a distance of twelve leagues from its junction with the Mississippi, and thence pass by means of a very well known and passable road to the settlements of Ouachita, Attakapas [*Atakapas*], Opelousas [*Opelusas*], Natchitoches, etc. These settlements have no other defense than their militia and some Indian na-

tions. But by constructing a fort and redoubt of earth and sod in the same place where the present fort is located (which since it is nothing but a girdle of stakes, occupied by a garrison of thirty men, can be of no use except against the Indians), it is evident that a garrison of one hundred men, who could be furnished in time of war from Nogales, joined to a like number of militiamen, all excellent hunters who live in the town, and lastly to some two hundred very valiant warriors of the Akansa nation, could advantageously dispute with the enemy the ascent of the river, and offer them some difficulties sufficient to dissuade them from undertaking a dangerous expedition through a level country without artillery, exposed to the failure of provisions and to the attacks of the cavalry of the militia of Natchitoches, Attakapas, Akansas, etc. The latter would not fail to harass the enemy greatly, whenever the defense of the fort of Akansas gave them time to unite, in order to oppose their advance into the interior of the country.

New Orleans

If all the obstacles above mentioned were conquered, the enemy would advance against New Orleans. Since the defenses of that place consist only of five earthworks with their ditches and a covered way strengthened by a strong stockade, those redoubts, being united together through the above-mentioned covered stockade by a good glacis at the foot of which is a ditch and an anteglacis, with a redan in the middle of each curtain, do not present the idea of a place capable of much resistance. But experience will prove the contrary, whenever it is supplied with the artillery that belongs to it (which consists of 24 pieces of the caliber of 12 and 14) and 3,000 regulars, among whom is a squadron of dragoons.

Plan of the defense of New Orleans on the upper part of the Mississippi

This place being situated in the middle of a plain on the east bank of the Mississippi in a district which slopes from the river to the creek running almost parallel to the Mississippi and a half league from it, and carrying its waters to the lakes which empty into the sea, its environs can be flooded from the month of January to that of August with the greatest of ease without any harm to the city, because the inundation only reaches to the entrance of the streets.

A chain of swampy thickets which the people of the country call cypress groves runs parallel to the Mississippi at a distance of three hundred or four hundred toises from its margins, and forms another insuperable obstacle to those who have had no experience with them. Hence it results that the enemy could direct their attacks only by the royal highway which follows the bank of the river. The enemy being enfiladed by the artillery of the redoubt, and assailed on their flank by the fire of the second redoubt, and of the redan, that road would be almost impassable during the high waters, by means of a few cuts made at intervals in the levees. To these obstacles for conducting the attacks and planting batteries, is added the difficulty of excavating trenches in places where water is found two feet below the surface of the earth. The enemy having been surrounded on a very narrow place or kind of causeway, in order to approach this place, the superiority of the fire can be preserved, by increasing with the greatest ease and rapidity [the number of] batteries, in proportion as the enemy raise their own; for by only opening embrasures in the glacis or curtains and establishing an esplanade – which can be done in a single night – the new battery will be in

condition to oppose at dawn the hostile battery which will have been scarcely begun. Since it is possible that the enemy will attempt to plant batteries on the other side of the Mississippi, in order to bombard the redoubts which defend it and to silence their fires by bombarding them from behind, it would be necessary to erect on the same side and opposite the center of the city a good redoubt. That redoubt crossing its fire on the river with the redoubts of St. Charles [*San Carlos*], St. Louis [*San Luis*], the battery del Parque [i.e., of the park], and that of Naranjos [i.e., of the oranges] would prevent the passage of the river, which is some 320 toises wide before the city, as well as the construction of the batteries which might harass the city very considerably.

Said redoubt protected by those of St. Charles and St. Louis, which would cross their fires in front of it, and by a frigate mounted with artillery of large caliber, which would be anchored lower down and which could be reënforced at any time by means of galleys, its attack and surrender would greatly prolong the siege, and in a case of misfortune, by blowing up its gorge with an explosion it would be left open on the side of the city.

It might also happen that the enemy might attempt to surprise the city on a dark night by way of the river. Consequently, it would be advisable, in case of a siege, to enclose its front with a strong stockade set at least six feet from the levee. This flanked by the batteries of St. Louis, St. Charles, del Parque, and de los Naranjos, would prevent the success of such an undertaking.

To ensure the city against a desperate blow which the enemy might attempt, by attacking it by various columns directed successively against the curtains, while the redoubts would be diverted from their defense by

false frontal attacks which call their fires, I consider as very necessary a corps of one hundred and fifty or two hundred cavalry. These, in case that the enemy made an entrance in any part, would rush out from the streets, and without giving the enemy any time to recover from the confusion in which they would necessarily be, after getting clear of the ditch and of the stockade, would throw themselves saber in hand upon them; while the crossed fires from the two redoubts and from the redan would sweep those who might follow, and it would be necessary for them to repass the stockade.

The greatest drawback in the city of New Orleans is that since its houses and their roofs are of very combustible wood, they can be easily burned, and the flames may very quickly be communicated to the ammunition and provision magazines. Hence it would be advisable for the latter to be bricked in and roofed with tile in the manner of a flat-roofed house; while also the citizens should remove their roofs during the siege.

I have not yet spoken of the difficulty that the enemy would experience in finding a place suitable for pitching their camp. It would be necessary for them to establish it a long distance from the city, for the range of the heavy artillery of the latter can give them no other position more secure than that between the Mississippi and the cypress grove or chain of swampy thickets which border the plain. But the militia and the hunters of the country, accustomed to hunt in the swamps, would harass their flank and rearguard day and night, in safety because of having an impenetrable shelter in the cypress swamp, and could destroy any body of troops that dared to follow them there.

For the same reason the enemy would be obliged to reduce their attacks to one single front, and could not

penetrate with artillery to the other side—which would greatly facilitate the defense.

It is evident that from July 15 to January 15, that is, during almost six months of the year when the waters of the Mississippi are low, the environs of New Orleans cannot be inundated; but the excessive heat which reigns, together with the frequent rains, the mosquitoes and flies, and innumerable other insufferable insects, the yellow and tertian fevers, and the dysentery, etc., are sufficient to destroy the most powerful army that might try to camp in the plains during the months of July, August, September, and October—and with much more reason an American army not at all accustomed to such a climate, which is generally mortal to the majority of those who descend to the capital by way of the Ohio during the hot weather. Besides, if the low waters of the Mississippi do not permit the flooding of the environs of the city during those months, neither will they permit an army to descend from Upper to Lower Louisiana by means of the river, and the river is the only way by which the bombarding artillery for the conquest of New Orleans can be transported.

However, supposing that the place be taken by assault or that it be necessary to capitulate, it would not be difficult for the troops garrisoning the redoubts to retire to that of St. Charles. This redoubt has been made larger than the others for that very purpose, and placed in condition to sustain another siege with great advantage, because of the double batteries that garrison all its faces.

Since it is probable that the enemy would try to preserve all the edifices of the city and to lodge there, they will prevent fire being set to them providing that the city remain neutral. Consequently, if the slightest at-

tack is made or if the redoubt on that side is disturbed in any way, everything will be reduced to ashes by the fire from its mortars and cannons.

Only the troops necessary for its defense shall be taken into the redoubt. All the rest shall camp in the hornwork which is to be constructed almost parallel to the Mississippi as soon as the city is threatened. It will enclose in its compass a large brick house, very proper for guarding the provisions during the siege, and a ridge of water, below which the ovens and bakery can be established, without the enemy being able to discommode them by their fire.

The canal upon which the ridge is located forms a deep and narrow ditch which is difficult to pass, as it is enfiladed by some pieces planted on the platform or terreplein of said ridge.

The hornwork which must serve as an entrenched camp for the troops, will be defended very advantageously by the artillery and musketry of the redoubt, as well as by the battery on the ridge which will perfectly dominate it. The whole advantage of this situation consists in the difficulty that the enemy will experience for making their trenches, planting their batteries, and extinguishing the fires from the double batteries of the redoubt which will cross the plain without forming scarcely an object which can be aimed at, for the artillery of the calibers of 30 and 24, planted in the covered way, and mounted on carriages of a new invention, will fire as a barbet battery on top of the glacis, almost without being discovered while the artillery of the walls, of the caliber of 18, placed in front of the open spaces left by the intervals of the first, will fire through the embrasures, whose protection is level with the crest of the glacis.

If the fire from the redoubt be silenced, it is clear that it will be necessary to capitulate. But in the meanwhile, aid may come from Havana in sufficient force to compel the enemy to retreat. This will be so much the more likely as they will find themselves greatly tired out and weakened by the sicknesses, deaths, and wounds, consequent to a long and obstinate defense.

But before capitulating, if the precaution has been taken during the siege, to maintain some galleys in the canal of the ridge, it will not be impossible to embark at night, and very silently, a goodly number of the best troops and artillerymen, and by the favor of a good wind and the current, to reach Fort Plaquemine [*Placaminas*] with them. On the preservation of this fort will depend the entrance of a reënforcement, sufficient, perhaps, to reconquer Louisiana.

If Plaquemine be lost, the recovery of Louisiana can be considered as impossible although the people of the country are declared otherwise.

This persuasion has induced me to employ in the defense of that important post all the resources which the locality, art, the brief time, and the reduced means in my power, have permitted me.

Fort Plaquemine

On a submerged, swampy site, covered with trees, and not known until after those trees in its vicinity should be felled, was erected a battery in the manner of a bastion—one of the finest existing, perhaps, in the Americas. Ten pieces with a caliber of 18 crown its summit, and cover the vessels ascending against the current, first from stem to stern, and then broadside, and lastly, from stern to stem. However favorable may be the wind, no frigate can escape drawing the fire of the fort, at least for a quarter of an hour, and if the east

wind is not blowing, it will be absolutely necessary to anchor under the cannon of the fort of St. Philip [*San Felipe*].

Since the river is two hundred and eighty-four toises wide at that place, and fearful lest boats pass very close to the land, and manage in that way to avoid a part of the effects of the battery, I had a redoubt constructed on the opposite bank, of earth and stakes, which I named Fort Borbon. It was for the double purpose of dismasting the up bound vessels near the shore and thus making them fall under the fire of the fort of St. Philip, and of allowing a protection to the militia who should advance lower down to harass the enemy in their maneuvers and preparations by favor of the thickets and fallen trees which crown the bank in that region.

Since I did not wish to expose artillery of heavy caliber in that redoubt, which it would be necessary to abandon in case of a serious attack, it was garrisoned with 5 pieces of the caliber of 6. These being discovered from the bow of the boats which ascend the river, on doubling a small point which covers them, and a musket's shot distance away, those boats must most assuredly shorten sail and maneuver at the first discharge of bar and grape shot sent them. This will make it necessary either for them to separate or to gain the middle of the river, where, exposed to the fire of both forts, they will not be able to conquer the force of the current, especially when the river is high.

Since the passes do not contain more than thirteen or fourteen feet of water, no frigate with greater strength than twenty-six or thirty cannons can enter the Mississippi, and the greatest caliber of those guns must not exceed the caliber of 12. Consequently, the battery of Fort St. Philip will always be very superior. Neither can the boats maneuver in the river with the ease and

swiftness that they display in the sea. The current, which is more strongly felt in proportion as the boats withdraw from the shore, will not allow them to sail in order or in line. Hence, an expedition that should try to force the passage by means of the east wind, the only wind that would allow of such an undertaking, would waste much time, and would experience much loss and confusion, if one of them had to lie to, either because of having shortened its maneuvers or because of having lost a mast. But, suppose it should happen that the galleys stationed in the bayou or creek of Mardigras under the cannons of the fort, from the small port of which they can play upon the passage of the river, without showing themselves, were then to follow the expedition with volleys from their cannons, under the protection of the militia of both shores, who would draw upon the men who might show themselves in the hostile boats, they would cripple them before they reached the English Turn [*Torno del Yngles*], so that the expedition would have to come to anchor.

If the enemy despairing of forcing a passage past Plaquemine, tried to land farther down and form their attacking column back of the fort, it is clear that it would be impossible to prevent their landing. But as soon as they would be within cannon range, the artillery of the galleys with a caliber of 24 stationed in the creek, and some other pieces of the left flank of the battery on the river, would play over the whole plain, so that they would be obliged to make their approaches slowly and to seek shelter from their fire, in order to be able to pass the creek much higher up than the fort, and undertake its siege in regular form. That would be rendered much more difficult since water is found two feet below the surface of the ground.

Since the fort is not reënforced behind, and since its

parapets are now only eight feet thick, it is clear that as soon as the enemy succeeded in planting their batteries behind it, it would be necessary to capitulate; so much the more since all the artillery defending it on the land side, consists of but six cannons with a caliber of 4, which were designed only to prevent a surprise or a *coup de main*. But the delay that will have to be made in passing the creek, in securing its communication, in opening its trenches, in planting their batteries under the leveling fire of the galleys, would allow time enough for aid to come from the capital, sufficient either to make them abandon the undertaking or at least to make difficult their ascent of the river.

If the enemy resolve upon an assault in order to avoid all those delays, as soon as they should have crossed the creek, three hundred men shut in the fort, could make them repent of their rashness, if they were able to serve their artillery in time by loading with grape; and sustained by the musketry, the fire from the galleys which would flank the attack, and that of the militia ambushed above the fort in the swampy thicket or cypress grove, which would take the enemy on the left flank and on the rear.

It might happen that the enemy might try to drive the militia from the cypress grove, but besides the fact that that would then be flanked by the artillery of the fort and of the galleys, fifty militiamen of Lower Louisiana could face and defeat without difficulty four hundred men of the regular troops, for only the natives of the country are able and understand how to get along in their swamps.

Fort Plaquemine is not susceptible of the same defense against an enemy, who, once master of the capital, should attack it from above. The same cypress grove

would offer them the advantage of being able to plant their batteries near the superior part of the fort. The fort could not long resist their effects because of the weakness of its parapets. Hence, mindful of the importance of the post, I am of the opinion that all the strength and thickness necessary be given to the wall on the land side and to its parapets; that artillery with a caliber of 12 be mounted thereon; and lastly that all its faces be reënforced with brick as far as the cordon—a work which may cost some twenty thousand pesos, but which will last a long time and be very useful.

The enemy, once master of Plaquemine, will be master of all Louisiana, that is, whenever he shall first have taken possession of the capital and of Galveztown when all possibility of help will have vanished.

Having shown the means of defense which may be employed in Louisiana against a well-directed invasion by way of the Ohio or from the northern part of the Mississippi, I shall present those means which that same defense offers against an expedition directed by way of the Gulf of Mexico.

Motives which determined the fortification of New Orleans

Since New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, is the center whence are distributed the forces, ammunition, provisions, and all things needful for the defense of the posts, forts, and fortified places, as well as the center for the commerce of the whole province, it has the greatest influence over its defense, and for the same reasons any hostile power will always direct its efforts against it. Its location on the Mississippi, one half league from a creek navigable for galleys and sloops, by which it communicates with the lakes and thence to the sea; the ease offered by the rivers or creeks either on this side of the

Mississippi or on the other, for the approach of small boats to the place from all parts, without passing through the mouths of the Mississippi, leaving the war vessels anchored with all safety, on Ship [*Navios*] Island, the Chandeleures [*Candalaria*], or Breton Island, or on the other side along the shores of the Bay of Barataria: these were the powerful reasons that made it necessary to fortify New Orleans in the manner in which it is fortified at present, that is, so far as was permitted by the short time and by the few means that could then be employed.

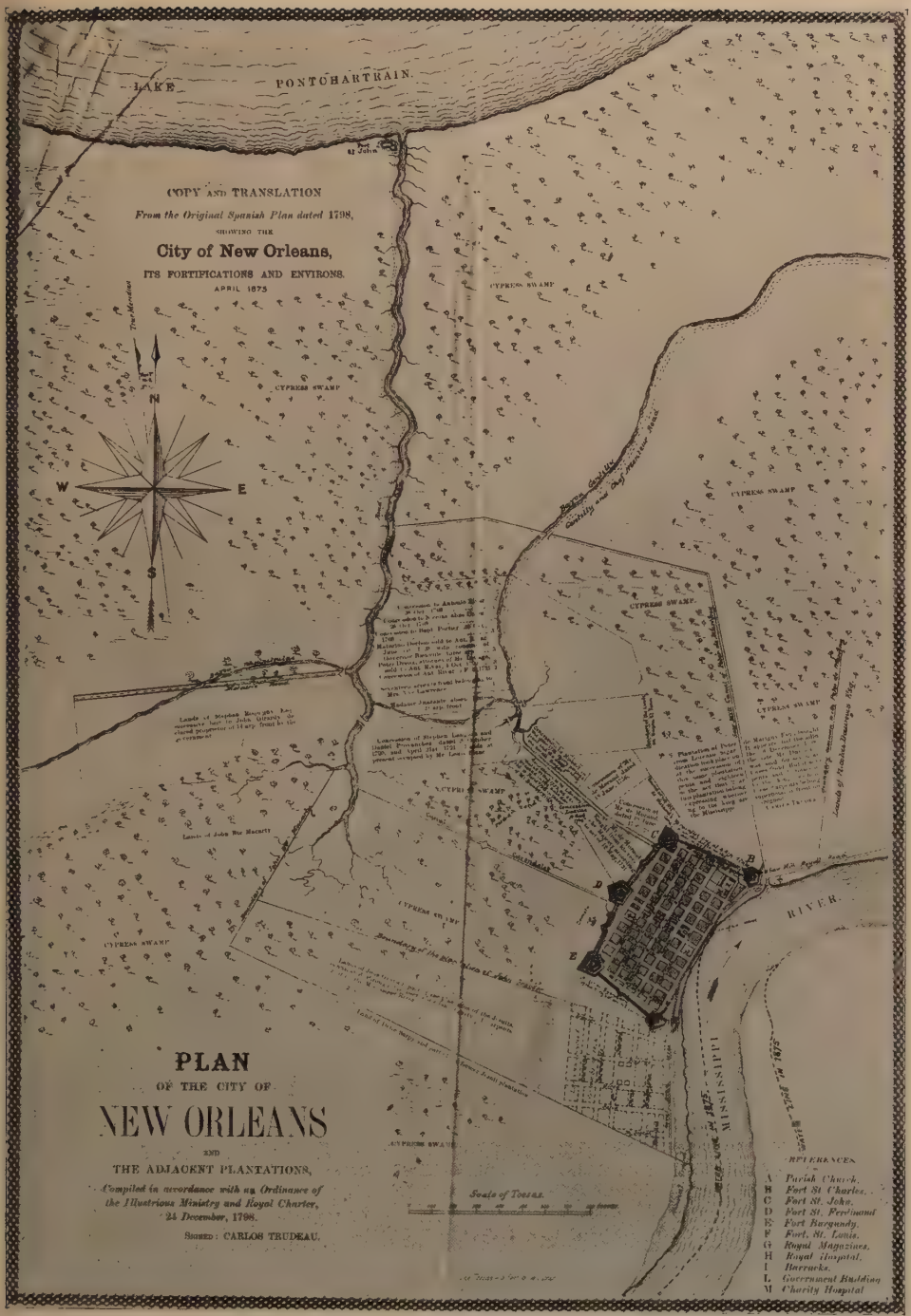
In fact, the Mississippi was at the beginning of the year of 1791 undefended equally above and below. The fort of New Madrid was then no more than a stockaded enclosure with its banquette, garrisoned by thirty-two men with four cannons of the caliber of four.

The fort of Nogales was not even in existence, and Natchez was reduced to the old fort and dominated on all sides so that the English recovered it with a single cannon in the year 1781.

The forts of Baton Rouge and Manchak were as ruinous as at present.

The city of New Orleans was without the least defense and one reached it from the mouths of the Mississippi without encountering the least obstacle so that in the year 1777 an English frigate of war anchored in front of the city without the least advice of its approach being known, and, consequently, without having asked the permission to enter and ascend the river.

Such was the condition of Louisiana, when I was ordered by a royal order of September 28, 1791, to place it in a condition of defense. Since circumstances did not allow me to attend to anything else than the moderate fortification of the principal points of it, the work was


LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN.
COPY AND TRANSLATION
From the Original Spanish Plan dated 1798,
SHOWING THE
City of New Orleans,
ITS FORTIFICATIONS AND ENVIRONS.
APRIL 1875
CYPRESS SWAMP
N
W
E
S
RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
PLAN
OF THE CITY OF
NEW ORLEANS
AND
THE ADJACENT PLANTATIONS,
Compiled in accordance with an Ordinance of the Illustrious Ministry and Royal Charter, 24 December, 1798.
SIGNED: CARLOS TRUDEAU.
REFERENCES
A Parish Church.
B Fort St Charles.
C Fort St. John.
D Fort St. Ferdinand
E Fort Burgundy.
F Fort, St. Louis.
G Royal Magazines.
H Royal Hospital.
I Barracks.
L Government Building
M Charity Hospital

prosecuted with incessant activity in placing Natchez, and later, Nogales from above, in condition to make some resistance. A little later the battery of Plaquemine was begun from below, but it was not to be expected that a few so inconsequential works could detain the enemy long enough to receive a powerful reënforcement from Havana. It was necessary to seek means to place the capital, which had to be the chief concern, in condition to hold the enemy for some time. Since its circuit was twelve hundred and eighty toises, without counting the river side, I erected the five redoubts which are indicated in the plan of the city, joining them to one another by a covered way and by a strong stockade. In the middle of each curtain or front of the line, which was too wide to be protected by the musketry of the redoubts, I placed a redan garrisoned with artillery, which shortens it, and defends it by crossing its fire with the perpendicular fire of the curtain and the transverse fire of the flank of the immediate redoubt.

Recognizing that notwithstanding the redans, the enemy might direct their attacks against the curtains with much more hope of getting into the city that way, since the troops, fearing to be cut off or taken in the rear, would naturally defend themselves poorly, or would, perhaps, abandon the redoubts, as soon as they saw the stockade gained [by the enemy], I determined to fortify the gorge of the redoubts with the same care as the other faces. For the same reason I preferred redoubts to bastions. In fact, it must be expected from them that, although the enemy should succeed in penetrating by means of the curtains, notwithstanding their direct fires and the cross fires of the redan and of the redoubts, the troops in the latter, sure of running no danger of being forced in them, would turn their fire against those who

had gained the stockade, and would even make a sally to attack them by the flank, while the cavalry was attacking them in their front.

Finally, since I had a large amount of artillery, and was led to believe that that of the enemy would be very inferior in number and caliber, I was confident of obtaining from that fact, the most splendid success and of compelling the enemy to abandon their undertaking.

No opportunity was offered to test the results of these combinations, but the province being threatened by an attack from the French by way of the Gulf of Mexico at the end of the year 1793, it was seen how useful were those defenses. All the artillery was mounted within the enclosure. The garrison increased by the militia of Natchez was distributed so that the regular troops were to defend the redoubts, and the militia, supported by the cavalry which had been recruited from the country, the curtains. To the defense of the forts of Plaquemine, four hundred men were assigned, who were to be reënforced by three hundred more men from the militia of the lower coasts. In the creek or small port of Fort St. Philip were to be stationed three galleys mounting artillery with a caliber of 24. Forty fireships or fire rafts were disposed so as to be sent against the hostile vessels which might force the passage. And in order that I might speedily obtain advice of their arrival at the Balise, signal guns were stationed every two leagues from that point to the capital, that is, in the thirty-two leagues between the two places – precautions that would doubtless have been crowned by the most complete success.

Since the means of defense offered by Plaquemine have been already detailed on page 45 [i.e., pages 315-316], it will suffice to add that if contrary to all appear-

ance the fort should be compelled to surrender, the garrison would have to try to retreat by way of the cypress grove, or the swampy thickets. This retreat would continue clear to the very capital, since once in it, the enemy could not succeed in cutting off their retreat.

Since it would be probable that after having taken Plaquemine, and being well provided with troops, sufficient to prevent the entrance of reënforcements, that might be sent from Havana, the enemy would reëmbark in order to ascend the river, the militia would await them at all the turns and twists in which during the maneuvers that the vessels might make to pass them, they might kill with volleys from their muskets the sailors who showed themselves.

But, since it would be absolutely necessary for the expedition to pass into what is called the English Turn which is five leagues away from the capital, in order to pass in sight of the spies, that half league almost wholly made up of twistings which the Mississippi forms, they [i.e., the Spanish troops] would also have to occupy that district, which offers the most formidable position, in order to await and defeat an enemy sufficiently imprudent to undertake it without knowledge or precaution.

The sort of tongue of land which runs between the lakes on both sides of the river, and the Mississippi, or between it and the sea from its mouths (for in the English Turn the greatest width is only one hundred and thirty toises between the Mississippi and the cypress swamp, which begins as I have said at Plaquemine, on the east, and almost from the Balise [*Valiza*] on the other), an entrenchment can be made on both sides, supported on either side of the river by the swampy thicket or cypress swamp. Both flanks ought to be covered by a good redoubt, and garrisoned with artillery which will

cross its fire on the river with that of the bank opposite. But the redoubts of the cypress swamp must be advanced a trifle more to the front, by means of an elbow or angle which the entrenchment will form, in order to flank the line entirely. Said redoubts could be supported by two or three hundred militiamen ambushed in the cypress swamp, who could harass the enemy from the rear during the attack of the line.

Behind the entrenchments will be found a level space very suitable for the cavalry, which will be drawn up at a distance of three or four hundred toises from its front beyond range of the musketry, and ready to fall saber in hand on those who break through the line.

Three thousand men of the regular troops, together with two thousand militiamen of the province, that is, of those who do not miss a man at two hundred paces, and two or three hundred men on horseback can render useless in that position all the efforts of an army of ten thousand men.

In case of misfortune, the corps that should have defended the lines, would find a secure and near shelter in the cypress swamp, and would make its retreat under the protection of the cavalry in the plain and of the militia in those places, who by harassing the flank of the enemy by a steady and well-directed fire, without being discovered, could compel them to suspend the rapidity of their march, and could give the troops time to enter the town much before the arrival of the enemy.

The importance of this position had caused the French to fortify it with a line which ran from the river to the cypress swamp along both sides, supported by a strong battery on each side, which crossed their fire over the same. Another battery having been placed farther down, which swept the least narrow district of the Mis-

sissippi, for the purpose of harassing the vessels while discharging their cargoes, and compelling them to do that at a great distance from the lines, two companies were able to guard that post in time of peace, and in time of war the garrison was increased according to circumstances.

Of all those works and their buildings, only useless traces remain. But in case that Louisiana should be threatened by a numerous expedition, which would necessitate the sending of three or four thousand men from Havana, it would be advisable to erect the defenses I have mentioned above, with the same troops, by means of which one could hope to prevent the arrival of the enemy at New Orleans and, consequently, the devastation of the plantations and the vicinity of the town.

The galleys anchored below the redoubts of the [English] Turn which would be too powerful for the fire of the hostile vessels to be able to trouble them, would also have a formidable effect against them, before and after anchoring, but especially during the landing of the troops, destined to attack the lines, which the location of the redoubts will render inevitable.

Fortifications which may be added to New Orleans

If the place of New Orleans were accessible only by the Mississippi River, it is evident that if the English Turn alone were well fortified and garrisoned with a sufficient number of regular troops, that would suffice to protect it. But since its location between the waters of the rivers, creeks, and lakes, allow of ingress to it, either by them and the St. John's [*San Juan*] River, or by Chef Menteur[149] and the Gentilly road which lead

[149] The pass of Chef Menteur connects Lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne. The name, meaning "Chief Liar," is said to have been given from an actual occurrence in derision of an Indian chief who failed to keep his word.

to the Mississippi River a league below the town, or by the bay of Barataria and the channel of Bouligny which falls a league above the town on the opposite bank, or by the lakes and the Amit and Iberville Rivers which empty into the Mississippi four leagues below the fort of Baton Rouge, or by the lake of Barataria and the Fourche de Chetimachas, or through the last, by way of the upper part of the Mississippi: all the defenses of which its location is susceptible must be added to it. Destined by that same location to become renowned by a vast commerce among all nations and the vast continent, which is bathed by the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, St. Francis [*San Francisco*], Colorado [i.e., the Red] Rivers, etc., it merits being enclosed by a wall regularly faced with brick; that the same should be done with the five redoubts that at present defend it; that a ravelin should be added in the middle of each curtain; that all should be protected with a ditch and a regular covered way. Since the country abounds in green sod, it will suffice for covering the wall as far as the cordon, a matter that will considerably diminish the expense.

But supposing that the urgency of the present day should not permit such a work to be undertaken, it will at least be advisable to half way face with brick the redoubt of St. Charles. This, serving as a fortress for the place, can sustain a siege of a month by reason of its double batteries which defend it, and with some eight hundred or one thousand determined men, entirely independently of the town. The vast territory of the latter requires a garrison of three thousand men, who could, perhaps, not be found when they were needed, and especially in the course of a war with France, when little or nothing could be counted on from most of the inhabitants.

This same consideration obliged me to reduce the other redoubts as much as possible. However, each one requires four hundred men for its defense.

In case that his Majesty determines to face the redoubt of St. Charles with brick, it would be advisable to add to that redoubt two double counter-guards, that is, with flankers which would cover the two angles at the rear, and a ravelin above the gorge of the same, as is shown in plan no. 1. Being low or level with the country, their cost would be a matter of little consideration. But it would then be necessary to raise the wall of the redoubt three feet. With the medium of the facing which I have proposed, the whole expense could be appraised at [*blank space in original*], but the king would then have a very respectable small fortress.

Plan of defense for New Orleans on the lower part of the Mississippi

Supposing that the enemy having overcome all the obstacles opposed to them, took a position before the town. If the pass between the redoubt of St. John [*San Juan*] and the cypress swamp were guarded with care, it would be necessary for them to direct their attacks against the strongest part of it, namely, against the curtain of St. Charles [*San Carlos*], whose plain will cross the double fires of the latter, and those of the redoubts of St. John and the redan of the curtain. Since the pass of the canal which crosses the plain to the creek would be enfiladed by the battery of the ridge of water, it would cost the enemy both time and trouble. But, as regards the rest, the defense of that part of the town would be like that mentioned earlier.

If New Orleans and Plaquemine [*Plaqueminas*] should surrender, the enemy would try to make themselves masters of the fort, which I have proposed to

erect in Galveztown, for the purpose of cutting all communication with the sea from the places of Baton Rouge, Natchez, Nogales, and the other posts of the upper Mississippi, thus making it impossible for reënforcements to be introduced by the same to the most densely populated part of the province. For it is evident that so long as the well-fortified and well-supplied forts of Galveztown and Baton Rouge remained in the possession of Spain, a powerful reënforcement could be sent by way of the lakes from Havana, which uniting with the militia of the province in Baton Rouge (I am speaking of those militia which being ten or twelve leagues above the capital would not have to fear the effects of the vengeance of the enemy so much), and availing themselves of the use of a part of the heavy artillery of Nogales, could descend against the town of New Orleans, and attack it with that advantage and superiority that are offered by a perfect knowledge of the district and the secret information of the inhabitants.

New Orleans could also be recovered by a night surprise by the gate called the Bayou St. John [*San Juan*], in the following manner whenever the citizens could be reckoned on.

Five or six frigates with landing parties of three hundred men each could leave Havana with the greatest secrecy possible and could come to anchor at Ship Island with all safety and secrecy, as that part of the coast is not frequented by any persons. The landing of the troops could be accomplished by means of the long-boats in that entirely deserted place, which is not at all frequented, by name Chef Menteur, and only seven leagues distant from the town and covered with trees. All the men having been landed with three days' provisions and unencumbered by artillery could make three leagues the

first day over a very passable road which runs from the dairy farm of Majent, and on which no plantation or people are found who could give information regarding the expedition. At the beginning of the following night, the expedition could begin their march toward the city, the vicinity of which they would reach by eleven o'clock or so, by the Gentilly road, taking care to keep away from some three or four houses along it, and going around them in order to prevent any one from going to advise the enemy. The latter, surprised by two columns, which could attack the fort of St. Charles and the gate of the Bayou at the same time, would doubtless lose the town before being able to form and repulse so sudden a blow.

This same ease by which New Orleans may be surprised, compelled me to maintain a small boat commanded by a thoroughly trustworthy officer between the entrance of the lakes and Ship Island, with orders to reconnoiter that space frequently, and to despatch a man by land to advise me whenever he discovered vessels in those districts, which being, as I have said, equidistant from the mouths of the Mississippi and the entrance of the lakes, are never frequented. The secret intelligence which the French maintain with the malcontents of Louisiana offered the execution of such an expedition, which five frigates from Savannah [*Sabanak*] or Charleston [*Charlestoun*] could undertake with great quickness and secrecy, by passing through the Providence [*Providencia*] Channel [i.e., near the island of New Providence in the Bahamas]. The English ship "Jupiter" with fifty cannons crossed that channel several times during the last war, and afterward by keeping off from the coast of Havana, could have reached the above mentioned Ship Island without discovery.

A fortin or blockhouse which would cost about two thousand pesos, if located on a small bluff in the passage called Rigolets, with a battery of four cannons of a caliber of 12 located on the bluff of *Coquilles*, would suffice to protect the town from all surprise on that side, as no vessels can enter the lakes except by forcing that very narrow and isolated passage, which would be found to be enfiladed.

Another similar battery in the great land [*gran tierra*] or bay of Barataria could advise of all news on that other part of the coast, and could guard the pass or channel entering the Mississippi a league above New Orleans.

Balise [*Valizas*]

For the purpose of protecting from surprise the pilots of the Balise, the principal entrance of the Mississippi, like that effected against them by Count O'Reilly [*Conde de O-Reylly*] (which made the entrance into the river easy for him), I had a blockhouse erected on the creek, at the point where the lookout is situated. It is defended by two cannons, whose embrasures close like those of a ship. It serves as a barracks and as a defense for twenty-four men who sleep there. It can not be taken without artillery.

The plan accompanying the new fort of Confederation [*Confederacion*], which I have established among the Choctaw nation, in order to assure myself of that nation and of all that most fertile country, which is much envied by the Americans located between the Mississippi, Yazoo, Chickasaw [*Chicacha*], and Mobile [*Movila*] Rivers and the sea, demonstrates the strength, solidity, and advantages of the blockhouses. These are constructed with trunks of trees, or pieces of squared timber, eight by eight inches, the upper parts of which cross their fires and play on all sides, without it being

possible to approach the foot of the tower or house, as it is defended by the salient angles of the first story, from which the defenders can throw hand grenades, stones, boiling water, or pitch, etc. Its cost does not exceed one thousand or one thousand two hundred pesos and it is calculated to last twenty or thirty years if the wood is cut in season. Lastly, thirty men with two cannons, with a caliber of 4, and four swivel guns suffice for its defense, not only against the Indians, but also against any number of troops who have no artillery with them.

The utility of the forts of Galveztown and Baton Rouge which I purpose to rebuild, having been proved, either for preventing the introduction of the enemy into the chief part of Louisiana, or for their recovery in case that Plaquemine and the capital should be lost, it remains yet to consider what could be undertaken to postpone the total loss of Upper Louisiana after the surrender of those forts, or in case that they were not rebuilt, in the event of an invasion of the province.

Since the post of Natchez is inhabited by many men, it could supply that of Nogales with about five hundred excellent men of arms, if the fear of losing their houses and property did not detain them. But, since neither they nor the landed people of the province could be reckoned on for that same reason, it would be necessary to assemble by offers and promise of a good recompense (when the province should return to the Spanish domination) all those who have nothing to lose and who hope to advance their fortunes by way of arms, as well as the vagabonds who abound in the western American settlements and the savage nations. If the capital should surrender, little could be counted on from those who are wont to follow the victorious party since the latter are more apt to continue to them the accustomed pres-

ents. However, by means of brandy and weapons, some bands of Indians could also be gathered together, who could harass the enemy during the siege.

Nogales, if placed in this readiness, would not assist a formal expedition, so that the enemy could take it. While it is in the possession of Spain, it would have only to fear lest Upper Louisiana be surrendered, for its commerce with the capital would be entirely interrupted. In order that the enemy might send three thousand men upstream, which they would need, together with the artillery, provisions, ammunition, etc., they would have to assemble a number of small vessels which are almost impossible to be found, and to employ two months or so in the voyage. This, consequently, would leave the forces defending Lower Louisiana very much reduced, which would expose it to a revolution of its inhabitants and the militia, in case that they preserved any affection for a mild government and those things which are advantageous to their interest, because of the proximity of Louisiana to the Spanish possessions.

In case any of the hunters and savages remained attached to Spain, they would be embarked on the shores of the Mississippi and would fall suddenly on the boats farthest ahead or separated from the main body. That would be sufficient to terrify the sailors, and detain the expedition considerably. In the meantime, the sun, the rains, and the discomforts of a long and tedious navigation, would occasion diseases, loss of ammunition, provisions, etc., so that it would reach its destination weakened and disgusted to undertake a siege, the success of which would be of so much less importance to the troops, because the capture of the place would offer them no personal advantage.

The same difficulties, and many even greater, would

be offered by the conquest of the fort of New Madrid. It, also, by cutting off communication with the capital and the settlements of the Illinois, and being able to provide itself with everything necessary from the latter settlements and from the settlements of the Ohio, could maintain itself to the very last.

The importance, then, of the posts of Nogales and New Madrid has been proven, whether it be to protect Louisiana against the attempts of the Americans or to preserve Upper Louisiana, even after the loss of Lower Louisiana, and to facilitate the recovery of the latter.

St. Louis des Illinois [*San Luis de Ylinoa*]

I have left until now to treat of the post of St. Louis des Illinois. It is the capital of the other towns of that district. Wherefore, I shall note that, located on the west bank of the Mississippi, five leagues from the Missouri, and five hundred leagues from the capital, it is supplied by several industrious merchants, who are comparable to those of the capital. They would have an immense fur trade with the nations of the Missouri, if they were favored with free trade with the capital and against the English of Canada, who usurp that trade and daily introduce themselves in greater number upon said river and among the nations living near it.

A fort garrisoned by fifty men on the St. Pierre [*San Pedro*] River, which is one hundred and twenty leagues from St. Louis, and another fort on the Des Moines River, forty leagues from the said St. Louis, could entirely cut off all communication of the English with the savage nations of the west bank of the Mississippi, and of the Missouri – a trade so rich that notwithstanding the enormous distance of five hundred and more leagues of wilderness to cross with their merchandise and the furs which they receive in exchange, the London companies

which engage in it do not fail to reap profits of a hundred per cent.

If the two forts above mentioned were established, many settlers would flock to their vicinities, both from our settlements and from Canada, and the banks of the Ohio. Within a few years they would have several posts in those districts more populous than that of St. Louis at present, and could serve to protect the part of Louisiana higher up on the Missouri from the usurpation of the English and Americans.

The commerce and trade of the Missouri would produce – without imposing any burden on the royal treasury and without extraordinary effort – immense wealth for Louisiana, and would afford the most solid wealth of all to the state, in a considerable product founded on the agriculture, industry, and consumption of a large population. Such advantages do not require or expect more than the protection of the government, and above all else, a free trade with New Orleans. The latter place must necessarily become some day the trade center of a very vast continent with the other nations of the world.

Since the town of St. Louis des Illinois is surrounded by very brave savage nations, who are more industrious than ours of Lower Louisiana; and since it is open to the assaults of the Americans and English, in case of a rupture with them; and since it is at the same time the trade center of Upper Louisiana: it ought to be encircled by a good stockade, with its banquette and corresponding glacis. The first should be defended at the two angles which look on the camp of the quadrangle, by two good redoubts faced with stone; and at the center by the small fort now in existence. A portion of its inhabitants being men of arms would serve for its defense. Conse-

quently, I consider that if four companies be detached from the battalion of New Madrid for St. Louis, and from which detachments would be provided for the St. Pierre and Moine [i.e., Desmoines] Rivers, they would suffice to cause the dominion of Spain to be respected throughout Upper Louisiana. And should his Majesty consider it proper for those detachments to be recruited from foreigners who should offer to serve five years in them provided that a constant ration be promised them, and who should be married or should marry and devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil for another five years during which they would be compelled to serve as militiamen, I am convinced that that battalion would always be full. That would obviate the great difficulties and save the great expenses necessary to transport the troops by the river to places so remote.

Having given in detail all that appears to me concerning the defense of Louisiana, it remains to treat of that of West Florida. But since Mobile [*Movila*] and the posts established on the river of the same name have much connection with the first, I shall begin by that post.

Fortified town of Mobile

The fort of Mobile, conquered in the last war with the English, consists of a regular square with four bastions, and a covered way, strengthened by a good stockade. In the inside of the latter is another second stockade, to compensate for the absence of a ditch, which is only two feet deep.

Since the wall and parapets are faced with brick, they have no other defect than the thinness of the facing, and the fact that the walls are exposed to the hostile batteries, almost to the foot – reasons that hastened its conquest by the Spanish arms.

The first defect is easy to remedy. In regard to the

second, by lifting the covered way about five feet, by covering the scarp with a good brick wall, and by elevating the glacis by a like amount, on the surface of the earth, Mobile would become a fine fortress with an efficient and respectable defense for the forces that might attack it in America.

Its location upon the Mobile River, which after receiving the Alabama is prolonged under the name of Chickasaw [*Chicacha*], much beyond the Yazoo River and almost as far as the Tennessee [*Tenesi*], makes the possession of Mobile much more essential to Spain than Pensacola.

If the western states should become possessed of Mobile, they would immediately open communication by means of the Ohio, Tennessee, Chickasaw, and Mobile Rivers with the Gulf of Mexico. A short canal could unite the Tennessee and Chickasaw Rivers. Another one, even shorter, would open navigation between the Chickasaw, Yazoo, and Mississippi, and between the said Chickasaw and the Pearl [*Perla*] River, which empties into the lakes back of New Orleans, and consequently, with the gulf of Mexico.

These great advantages have excited the greed of the Americans, who have published in printed form their plans on this particular, as appears from the work entitled *Memoranda regarding South Carolina in the Yazoo*, which I sent to his Excellency, the Count of Floridablanca in my secret despatch, no. 9, February 25, 1792. With the same object they have formed the Virginia Company and that of the North. But they themselves have pledged to me their word that they will leave those districts. Having solicited and obtained from the Choctaw nation the territory of Nogales and another territory a hundred leagues from Mobile a little farther

above Nogales on the Chickasaw River, I have there erected the fort whose plan is enclosed as no. 2. By its location upon said river, and by means of the fort of Tombigbee [*Tombecbé*], constructed four years ago, sixty leagues lower down and on the same side of the river, the king is master of all the vast and fertile territory enclosed between the Mississippi, Yazoo, Chickasaw, and Mobile Rivers, and the Gulf of Mexico. Within that quadrangle are located the lakes and the Pearl River. Since it has no savage town within its borders which could trouble the plantations that might be established there, it is greatly to be hoped that that beautiful country will immediately be settled, and that free trade may bring to Louisiana the emigration now directed by enthusiasm and diligence to the United States of America.

Fort Tombigbee, formerly constructed by me in haste is falling into ruins. Its extent is disproportionate to the small garrison of thirty men that it needs. I have ordered a blockhouse to be quickly erected in the sort of bend [? *maga*] which it forms on the river, and I think that it can be placed in good condition for about five thousand pesos. At a short distance from this lies a small town which supplies Mobile with maize and which may be very useful to the fort of the Confederation, thus named to perpetuate among the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Cherokee nations the memory of the treaty of friendship and reciprocal guaranty between them and Spain, which was concluded at Nogales, May 14, 1792.

Fort of the Confederation

The settlement of Confederation has cost many difficulties and much trouble, because the savage nations, besides being highly jealous of their lands, fear the

proximity of the Europeans and their ambition. It was necessary to persuade the Choctaws that that settlement located in the midst of their nation, had no other purpose than that of protecting them from the Americans; of offering a place or rendezvous, equally suitable for the meeting of the deputies or chiefs of the four nations in cases in which their affairs might require the meeting of a congress, in the presence of the commissioner of his Majesty; and lastly, of having there, the aid in maize and provisions which they might need in times of scarcity. The nation, in fact, has recourse to the fort, but with moderation, and is now very well satisfied with its neighborhood. For some years, the king will spend an additional sum for provisions, which may be estimated at about two thousand pesos at the most. But he is assured of a post of which the Americans are envious. The latter might have been able to purchase it from those Indians before us for the same amount. That warlike nation, which has not less than fourteen thousand men, will always be well affected toward Spain, which will relieve them in their necessities.

Fortified town of Pensacola

I ought to say nothing in regard to Pensacola, since its works determined upon by the court, have already been begun. I visited its site and was always persuaded that the English had committed a capital fault by leaving the point of the island of Santa Rosa defenseless. If there were a good redoubt, with a ditch, covered way, and glacis; the ditch and covered way defended by a stout stockade; garrisoned with cannons of a caliber of twelve; and located where I had a masked battery erected at the beginning of the war: it would not have been necessary to have opened the trench, which required much time both for the disembarking of the necessary

tools, artillery, and ammunition and to make the fascines and other preparations, during which the enemy could expect that the squadron and the transports would find it necessary to abandon the coast or perhaps to run aground, since that coast is naturally very rugged. The two frigates, ambushed at the flank of the redoubt, and defended by the fort of the other side, and by the same redoubt, would have crossed their fire on their front, which they would have reciprocally defended; and it would have been necessary to fire but six shots from the cannons with the caliber of 24 planted by night as a barbet battery on the shore of the island of St. Rose [*Santa Rosa*] to make them abandon the entrance in order to seek asylum at the end of the bay, and remaining from that day useless for the defense of the town. Having taken that redoubt we were in the same necessity as before of forcing the entrance, and passing under the fort of Las Barrancas, as we did. In place of which if, after the entrance of our transports into the bay, our general had resolved without wavering to plant his banners where they would ultimately be during the siege, and immediately to bombard the fort of St. George [*San Jorge*], which was very far from the city, with red-hot balls and royal grenades, it would have been surrendered, and Pensacola would have surrendered that same day, since the city had no other defense than a stockade.

The reason for wishing to capture Fort St. George without danger, was certainly not equal to the time, expense, and risk that its surrender cost.

I reiterate, therefore, that since Pensacola can not be used by Spain on account of its location and position, more than as a place of deposit or warehouse for the Indian trade and as a shelter to the warships which cross over the sound and to the entrance of the Bahama Chan-

nel, it does not merit the same attention as does Mobile, which would be the key to the navigation of the western settlements, and western American states, if they fell into our possession.

Two fortins of stone or brick placed at the entrance of the bay, the old post and stake enclosure of the city reëstablished, and a blockhouse erected on the eminence which dominates the city, would be quite sufficient, both to protect it from Indian outrages, and wandering Americans, and to prevent the entrance into the bay of any expedition attempting it from the sea. In fact, if Spain then has enough forces at Havana to reënforce Pensacola, the siege and capture of the fortins at its entrance would give them the time necessary to arrive. On the other hand, if there are not enough forces at Havana to oppose those of the enemy, it would matter little whether the siege lasts a fortnight more or less, and since the enemy could not find a place of great strength where they could settle firmly, they would be liable as soon as the expedition retired, to be driven out by another expedition which would be made from New Orleans by way of the lakes to Mobile, and from the latter point which is only twelve leagues from Pensacola, against the fortin of Las Barrancas Coloradas [i.e., the Red Bluffs], the troops crossing overland, and the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, being transported by small boats along the coasts and supported by some galleys or gunboats to within a league or half a league from the above mentioned Barrancas, where all would be reunited to the army.

On the contrary, if much time and money were employed in fortifying Las Barrancas Coloradas, and if a chief fort be constructed there, there would not be sufficient men to defend it, nor would it perhaps, be completed by the time it would be needed against the enemies

of the crown. And in whatever condition it be in, the city would have to be abandoned, and the king would lose more than sixty thousand pesos in the buildings there, and private persons would lose their houses and furniture in order to betake themselves to the vicinity of the fortress; because in the locality where it is now located, it receives no protection from the fort of St. Bernard [*San Bernardo*], and since its stockade has fallen it would now be exposed to the thefts and outrages of the Indians, were it not that they are restrained now by the garrison quartered there.

If the defenses of Pensacola were arranged as I suggest, the battalion which garrisons it may furnish fifty men to San Marcos de Apalache, sixty to Mobile, fifty to Confederation, thirty to Tombigbee, ten to Tensas [*Tinzas*], fifty to the blockhouse of St. George, forty to the fortin of St. Rose, and still have more than three hundred for the garrison of Las Barrancas.

San Marcos de Apalache

The fort of San Marcos de Apalache is necessary for the defense of the entrance of the Apalachicola and Flint Rivers, by which the Americans could attempt to navigate to the gulf, without realizing their plan for driving the Creek nation from that part of their lands which those rivers bathe. It serves also to cut off the communication which the English are trying to maintain with the lower Creeks and Seminoles [*Semanoles*], and lastly to provide the latter with necessary supplies and merchandise.

Since the so-called lesser posts, five in number, have no other object than that of protecting the inhabitants of their districts from the savages, they need nothing except a girdle of stakes with its banquette, four cannons of the caliber of four, and four swivel guns.

A sight of the accompanying map, and of the plans of each place and fort, which I sent your Excellency in my despatch, no. 442, will give the most concise idea of all I have just explained and of which your Excellency ordered me to report. But, in order to prevent confusion, I also enclose an extract, no. 1.[150] This shows in abstract the condition of the places, forts, and posts of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, their importance and wants, and the aid that they need in order to be placed in the state of defense demanded by circumstances. Lastly [I enclose] the résumé of the expenses indispensable to place Louisiana and West Florida in a state of defense at the present time, and another résumé of all the expense which, although not so urgent, would contribute greatly to their strength and security from the Indian nations (nos. 4 and 5).[151]

I can do no less than insist anew on the necessity for the addition of a fourth battalion to the regular regiment here. Without it, these provinces absolutely can not be considered in the state of security which their boundaries, conterminous with the Americans and savages, require. Relation no. 6[152] shows its use and necessity. It must be taken into consideration that during the months of July, August, September, and October, one-seventh of the troops is useless because of the dis-

[150] This abstract, while containing some little additional information resembles the present report in its general character, and is, consequently, omitted here.

[151] The total amount of the expenses necessary to place Louisiana and West Florida in a perfect state of defense (no. 4) is 607,000 pesos (specified by the various posts). That absolutely necessary to check any hostile designs (no. 5) is 454,000 pesos.

[152] One table shows the number of soldiers that should be distributed in the various posts of Louisiana and West Florida in times of peace. The total force should amount to 2,693. A second table shows the disposition of parts of the first and third battalions of the troops (in all 1053 men), and how many are really serviceable at the present time.

eases in New Orleans, Plaquemine, Mobile, Natchez, Nogales, Akansas, New Madrid, and San Marcos de Apalache, but especially in the capital, where one-sixth of the garrison remains in the hospital, so that the eight hundred and forty men who are there at present, are insufficient for the daily service of the place, although reduced to one hundred and sixty-five, as appears by no. 6, where it is stated that the daily diminution is two hundred and thirty-one from the total force.

May God our Lord preserve your Excellency many years. Your Excellency,

BARON DE CARONDELET (rubric)

New Orleans, November 24, 1794.

[Addressed: "His Excellency, Don Luis de las Casas."]

TWO LETTERS FROM MINISTER Alvarez to the captain-general of Cuba. Aranjuez and Madrid. June 26 and July 22, 1798.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The first letter is from the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, Cuba [Del Monte], Ac. 182, no. 509. The second letter is from Archivo Nacional, Havana, Louisiana and West Florida.

See: Perez, Guide to Cuban Archives, 98.

TWO LETTERS FROM MINISTER ALVAREZ TO THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CUBA

I. SECRET DESPATCH

On this date Don Francisco de Saavedra communicates to me the following:

> Our ambassador in Paris tells me the following in a letter of the 12th of this month, number 15.
>
> "While the post was being prepared to set out and horses were being awaited, I have made a visit to Minister Tallyrand. I found him very much disturbed by letters from North America which he was reading. In them he is advised that gold and the intrigues of Pitt have gained congress; that their plan for a campaign is to begin by throwing themselves upon Spanish Louisiana and Florida which they [i.e., the Americans] are trying to occupy without resistance; and that this is the idea which the English are giving them, already calculating that they will take possession by this means of the Spanish commerce of the islands and of Nueva Espana."
>
> The ambassador adds that the source of this news leaves little or no motive for doubt.
>
> The king having been informed of everything, his Majesty has determined that the proper warnings shall be made to the viceroy of Nueva España and the governors of Havana, Louisiana, Pensacola, and Florida, so that they may be advised beforehand.

I copy this for your Excellency by royal order, so that you may observe the precaution and vigilance which this news requires and apply in any event, your activity and experience, and the strength of your zeal, and the means which appear most suitable to you to destroy the projects

of the United States of America, if in reality the latter should have conceived and think to realize those designs. You shall keep constantly in mind what may be of use to the service of his Majesty, the glory of the nation, the welfare of its subjects, and the opinion that your Excellency merits from your Sovereign. May God preserve Your Excellency many years. ALVAREZ (rubric). Aranjuez, June 26, 1798.

[Addressed: "Captain General of the Island of Cuba."]

II. SECRET DESPATCH

On this date Don Francisco de Saavedra communicates to me the following:

> The minister of foreign relations of the French Republic has communicated to his Majesty's ambassador in Paris, by order of his government, his information in regard to the influence exercised by the government of London on the United States of America, and in regard to the political consequences that would probably result from that influence to the interests of Spain and France.
>
> The executive directory, from the tenor of the letters of its consuls in the United States, has inferred that the latter government desires war, and is neglecting no medium to declare it; that the objects of its ambition are the Floridas and Louisiana; that those ideas are fathered by the English, because of the great interest to their commerce in the extension of the possession of the Americans; that as soon as the latter declare war on us, they will form a treaty of alliance with the English, and the English will again attempt to gain possession of Habana. The risk to the French and the Spanish colonies situated on the Gulf of Mexico, is equal.

I copy the above for your Excellency by royal order, in order that by taking the most active and efficacious measures and provisions which your zeal may dictate to you, you may avoid the dangers that might result if our

enemies attempt to realize those designs. May God preserve your Excellency many years.

Madrid, July 22, 1798. ALVAREZ (rubric).

[Addressed: "Captain General of Louisiana and Floridas."]

MINISTER CABALLERO TO MINister Coruel. San Lorenzo. November 13, 1799.

Bibliography: Translated from Archivo de Simancas, Guerra, legajo, 6921.

MINISTER CABALLERO TO MINISTER CORUEL

YOUR EXCELLENCY: At the same time that the reverend bishop of Louisiana, Don Luis Peñalver y Cardenas, reports in a letter of July 30 last through the ministry in my charge the death of the governor of that province, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, his letter shows a matter which he has noted in it and which demands the most prompt reform, so that his Majesty, either quite directly or through the new governor, may take measures to have the abuses against religion, against the State, and against the customs of those countries remedied.

The said reverend bishop reports that the emigration from the western part of America, and the tolerance of sectarians have brought a mob of adventurers to the colony who know not God or religion. Contact with them has contributed to make customs deteriorate. In one of the suburbs of the city a lodge [of free masons?][153] has been formed in which are enrolled officers of the garrison, dependents of the royal treasury, merchants, countrymen, both natives and foreigners. They hold their meetings on regular stated days, and have their burials and other ceremonies which are both suspicious and criminal.

[The bishop reports] that those same adventurers have spread through the districts of Atacapas, Opelusas, Ouachita, and Natchitoches, which lies next the prov-

[153] The first freemason lodge was established in New Orleans in 1794. See: King, Grace. *New Orleans* (New York, 1899), 147.

ince of Texas in Nueva España. They are furnishing their hunters and Indians with arms; they hold conversations and impress mischievous thoughts on their hearers, in accord with their restless and ambitious character, and with the bonds which bind them to their countrymen of the west [part of the United States]. They have a custom of patting their children on the shoulder when the latter are very robust and saying to them "You wil go to Mexico."[154]

[The bishop reports] that the same thing is taking place on the upper Mississippi, in the Illinois district [*distrito de Jlinesses*] and its vicinity, where there has been a remarkable introduction of those adventurers who are penetrating into the interior toward New Mexico.

[The bishop reports] that the parishes of Louisiana, formerly religious, are now falling away from their faith and customs. Their paschal observance is decreasing and they are deaf to the admonitions of the parish priests.

[The bishop reports] that although said prelate has always observed this resistance to the observance of the duties of the Church, this year the military officers have acted together. They live openly with their mulatto concubines as do many of the people, and they are not ashamed to name the children in the parish registers as their natural children.

[The bishop reports] that if the example of the magistracy is transcendent over the public, there is not a single regidor who satisfies the paschal precept; very few of those who hear mass on feast days; while the rest are only present on days of table. The same is true of the present provisional accountant.

[154] The phrase is in English in the original document, and as here spelt.

[The bishop reports] that the treasurer and accountant are never seen in the church. These are the reasons that some of those who are careless assign, who esteem the crime as less because of the number and the character of those comprehended in it.

[The bishop reports] that under such circumstances the edicts of the expositor and the admonitions of the parish priests and preachers have no force, and it is necessary for the chief of the province to concur by some measures which he deems opportune. And lastly that frontier province of North America, which borders on the Canadian possessions of England and on the Indian nations who serve as a road to Nueva España, demands a complexity of circumstances, attentions, and sufficient knowledge, as do also the above-mentioned disorders, a fervent but prudent zeal, with a decided love to the government and Spanish customs.

The king having very fully examined into all the above, has determined that the strictest orders be given by the ministry of war under your charge, so that the officers of the garrison and all other military officers of Louisiana be the first to set a good example in all actions, especially religious; that the governor be advised to destroy the lodge mentioned by the reverend bishop, and that the former aid the latter efficaciously so far as he may be able, and as the critical circumstances of those countries require. By his Majesty's order I inform your Excellency of this for your information and direction.

May God preserve your Excellency many years.

JOSEPH ANTONIO CABALLERO.

San Lorenzo, November 13, 1799.

[Addressed: "Don Antonio Coruel."]

[Synopsis at the beginning of the letter:

A report on the pernicious customs sown by sectarians and adventurers who have introduced themselves into the colony of New Orleans. The religious sentiments of his Majesty are set forth and the means that must be employed by the officers and troops, who are the first who ought to contribute with their good example and with other precautions very important for the welfare of both Majesties.]

[A letter of like tenor was sent to the governor of Louisiana on November 16, 1799.]

INSTRUCTIONS BY MINISTER DECRES TO FRENCH OFFICIALS

Secret instructions for the captain-general of Louisiana, An xi, 5 Frimaire (November 26, 1802), Paris.

Instructions for Laussat, An xi, 16 Frimaire (December 7, 1802), Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Both translated from transcripts in the Department of State, Washington, Bureau of Rolls and Library. Adams Transcripts, French State Papers, vol. i. They were copied from the Archives de la Marine, Paris.

I. SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF LOUISIANA,[155] APPROVED BY THE FIRST CONSUL

An xi, 5 Frimaire [i.e., November 26, 1802].

The colony of Louisiana is a vast province located west of the Mississippi, which forms on that side its common boundary with the United States.[156]

On the west it is bounded by New Mexico [*Nouveau-Mexique*], on the south by the sea, and at the north by a limitless extent of lands scarcely known.

That colony, retroceded to the French Republic by his Catholic Majesty, in consequence of the treaty concluded at San Ildefonso, 9 Vendémiaire, an ix [i.e., October 1, 1800], must be restored with the same extent that it had during the period when it belonged to Spain, the same that it had when France owned it, and such as it ought to be according to the treaties passed subsequently by his Catholic Majesty and other states.

Such is the text of article 3 of the treaty of San Ilde-

[155] These instructions were never issued, as General Victor, the military commander destined for Louisiana, never actually took over that post. Laussat evidently had a copy of them, as they defined the boundaries to which the French were to adhere. See: Adams. *History*, vol. 1, 5-10.

General Claude Perrin Victor, Duke of Bellino (1764-1841) entered the French army in 1781. After the siege of Toulin (793) his promotion under Napoleon was rapid. Although appointed to command the proposed French expedition to Louisiana, that expedition was never carried out. He served in all the great campaigns under Napoleon. In 1814, he went over to the Bourbons, by whom he was greatly honored. The Austrian government, to which he was appointed ambassador in 1823 refused to receive him. See: *New International Encyclopedia* (New York, 1904), vol. xvii, 332.

[156] See the section on the boundaries of Louisiana.

fonso, and such are the directions contained in the king's order, of which General Victor shall transmit a copy to the Marqués de Someruelos [*Somméruelos*],[157] who is charged with the retrocession in behalf of his Catholic Majesty.

The extent of Louisiana, the boundary of which has only been indicated above, is well determined at the south by the Gulf of Mexico.

But, bounded on the east by the river called Rio-Bravo,[158] from its mouth to the thirtieth degree, its line of demarcation has not been traced beyond the latter point, and it appears that no convention has ever been held concerning this point of the frontier.

The farther north one goes, the more indecisive becomes the boundary.

That part of America scarcely includes more than uninhabited forests or Indian tribes, and hitherto no necessity has been felt of establishing a line of demarcation.

Neither does any boundary exist between Louisiana and Canada.

Since both countries belonged to France before the treaty of 1763 there was but little importance in marking their boundaries exactly, and no concern has been taken about it, since for the same reasons, which have caused a part of the wilderness of Louisiana and New Mexico to be neglected. But that demarcation will be-

[157] Salvador Muro y Salazar, Marqués de Someruelos, was born at Madrid in 1754 and died there in 1813. He took part in the campaign against the French at the end of the eighteenth century, earning for his services the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Later he became mariscal de campo, and was appointed captain-general and governor of Cuba, serving there from May, 1799 to April 14, 1813. He was successful in his government, and was in general well liked. See: *Diccionario enciclopedico Hispano-Americano* (Barcelona, 1893), vol. xiii, 663.

[158] The Rio Grande del Norte.

come necessary sooner or later, and the captain-general of the colony must, after taking possession, prepare for it by all the information which he can collect and which appears suitable to him for establishing the intention of the government in this regard.

In this state of affairs, since the northern, and a part of those of the eastern boundaries are not fixed the captain-general shall have the most distant Spanish posts relieved, in order to prove possession; but he shall give to those parts of the province only the extension that will be to the interest of the state considered in regard to its military situation.

It has been said that the Mississippi [Mississipi] serves as a common boundary to Louisiana and to the western possession of the federal government.

A treaty concluded at Paris, February 10, 1763, between the kings of France and Spain and the king of Great Britain established the title to this part.

Its article 7 provides:

> It is agreed that for the future, the confines between the states of his most Catholic Majesty and his Britannic Majesty in America (Great Britain then possessed New England and Florida) shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi from its source to the River Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea. New Orleans and the island on which it is located, shall belong to France.[159]

Such is still to-day the eastern boundary of Louisiana. All the territory east and north of that boundary forms part of the United States or of West Florida.

Since the latter belongs to Spain, this fact can not be indifferent to the French government, and it is well to have the boundary in that region established.

[159] This is not an accurate citation. See this article on page 294, note 141.

It was fixed by a treaty concluded October 27, 1795 (5 Brumaire, an iv) between the court of Madrid and the federal government.[160] That treaty provides that the boundaries of Florida and the United States shall be determined by a straight line drawn from west to east at the altitude of thirty-one degrees of latitude, from the Mississippi to the Apalachicola River. That line would fall, after some slight deviations at the source of the St. Mary's River, whose course it would follow to the Atlantic Ocean. The same treaty also states that the middle of the Mississippi serves as a boundary between the United States and Louisiana.

There is, then, no obscurity as to our boundary in that part, nor on the boundary of our allies. And although Florida belongs to Spain, the right of its possession in that part must interest the captain-general of Louisiana as much as if it were French property.

Since Louisiana is the bulwark of Mexico, that consideration alone guarantees to the captain-general a reciprocity of interest from the governor of Florida.

He shall, therefore, maintain with him [i.e., the governor of Florida] all the relations of intimacy and good neighborliness which will be able to procure a mutual support to the two possessions.

Likewise since the Mississippi serves as a common boundary between Louisiana and the United States, that river becomes the common trade route for the products of the two nations. The right to the navigation of the

[160] Treaty of friendship, limits, and navigation, which was ratified at Aranjuez, April 25, 1796, and proclaimed, August 2, 1796. Boundaries are discussed in articles 2-4. See texts of this treaty in: Godoy. *Memorias*, vol. i, 295-306; Godoy. *Memoirs* (Eng. transl.) vol. ii, 402-418; Cantillo. *Tratados*, 654, 655; *State Papers*, doc. 121, 20th congress, second session, 170; White. *New Recopilacion*, vol. ii, 536, 537; Imlay. *Topographical description*, 562-577; and Fuller. *Purchase of Florida*, 359-370.

Mississippi from its source to its mouth was granted to England by Spain in 1763. See Article 7 of the treaty.[161]

When English America separated from the mother country, the right of navigation passed naturally to the new possessors of that territory, but the English, in their treaty of 1783 with the United States, reserved to themselves a share in it with the Americans. See Article 8 of the treaty.[162]

A new treaty, concluded November 15, 1795,[163] between England and the United States, confirms the first power in its right to the navigation of that river.

It is true that Spain, without the consent of which no contract of that nature should have been taken, since that country owned and had possession of one-half the course of the Mississippi, seemed to have been offended by the concession given to England by the United States. It must have been much more surprised at it since it had quite recently stipulated in a treaty concluded October 27, 1795, that the navigation of the Mississippi would be exclusively open to its subjects and to the citizens of the United States, unless it [i.e., Spain] judged it proper to extend that privilege by a special convention, to the subjects of any other power.

But, since Spain has executed, notwithstanding its discontent, all the clauses of the treaty which it had concluded with the Americans, it must be concluded that it

[161] See page 294, note 141.

[162] This article is as follows:

"The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States."

See the text of this treaty in Freeman Snow's *Treaties and topics in American diplomacy* (Boston, 1894), 62-67.

[163] Jay's Treaty of 1794 is meant here. The navigation of the Mississippi is provided for in article 3.

has consented to recognize the right granted by them [i.e., the Americans] to the English to the navigation of the Mississippi.

On this supposed consent shall be assumed the last information which shall have been transmitted with the instructions relative to the captain-general of Louisiana.

The results of the opening of the Mississippi to the English appear to be a consequence so serious for our commerce that the captain-general must, on his arrival, limit himself to tolerating what he shall find established.

He shall gather all the information suitable for the enlightenment of the government on the condition and on the results of the opening of the river, not only with relation to the English, but also with relation to the Americans.

He shall report on their relations of all kinds with New Orleans and any other settlement in Louisiana or any other settlement at the North [i.e., probably in the Illinois country].

In refraining from making any innovation in what he shall find established in that regard, he shall report to the Minister [of foreign affairs] all and each one of the stipulations not cited in the present instructions, after the particular arrangements between Louisiana and the foreigners were introduced into the colony.

The system of that colony, as in all those colonies which we own, must be to aim to concentrate its commerce into the national commerce. It must be the special aim to establish relations between it and our Antilles, so that they may replace the American commerce in the latter colonies in all the articles whose importation and exportation are allowed to the Americans.

The captain-general must especially refrain from any innovation favorable to foreigners who must be limited to communications absolutely indispensable to the pros-

perity of Louisiana and to that explicitly determined by treaties.

Nevertheless, since the relations of that colony with the continent and the Spanish islands appear wholly to our advantage – notably those with Campeche, Cuba, Havana, and Porto Rico – it will be important to encourage them, and to profit by the favor of the ancient relations of the colony with the Spaniards, in order to give that commerce as great an extension as possible, until, by virtue of the reports which shall have been received on Louisiana and its commerce, the French government may be able to establish and propose to the Spanish Government a system of commercial relations tending to the mutual interest of the two powers.

The fur trade is an important object, on the mode of which the government will need enlightenment. If the reports which have been furnished it are true, the trade is given over at present to a kind of monopoly, which is contrary to the liberality of its intentions. That matter must be discussed especially so as to present the most judicious views on that interesting branch of commercial activities.

From what has been said of Louisiana and the adjacent states, it is clear that the Republic, as sovereign of the two shores of the Mississippi at its mouth, holds in its hands the key to its navigation. That navigation, moreover, is of the highest importance to the western states of the federal government; for the mountains which separate several of their provinces from Philadelphia, make the expense of transportation by the interior so excessive, that, without the resource of the river, all commercial connection between the two parts of the United States would become impossible.

It is sufficient to say with what jealousy the federal government will see us take possession of Louisiana.

Whatever be the events that are to be expected from that new part of the continent, the arrival of the French forces must be marked there by expressions of great friendliness toward those new neighbors.

The greatest prudence shall govern the administrators of the colony.

A little experience in those regions will soon enable them to recognize the sentiments of the western provinces of the federal government. It will be well to maintain communication in that country, whose numerous, warlike, and frugal population may offer an enemy to be feared. The inhabitants of Kentucky, especially, must engage the attention of the captain-general. The rapid current of the Ohio and of the rivers whose shores they inhabit, and which empty into the Mississippi, permit them so much the more easily to attempt an expedition against New Orleans. The slight preparation which it would be necessary for them to make, and the modesty of their needs, would accelerate the execution of such an expedition. A powder-horn, a pouch of bullets, their provisions of cold meal, form their equipment. Great readiness, add those persons who have lived among them, is lent them by their custom of living in the forests and enduring fatigues. Beyond a doubt such neighbors merit being watched.

They must be fortified against also by alliances with the Indian nations scattered on the east side of the river. The Chickasaws, Choctaws, Alibamons, Creeks, etc., are represented as being entirely devoted to us.

It is the custom for the chiefs of those nations to return to the powers with whom they are allied the medal which they received from them, whose friendship they renounce. Sometimes they have several medals because of the diversity of their alliances.

At the councils which it is customary to hold with

the chiefs, the captain-general shall take all the measures that are considered proper.

The French government will succeed naturally to all alliances of that nature that were contracted by Spain.

He shall neglect nothing that may give them more scope. He shall report to the government all the treaties made with the various chiefs. To his reports he shall add all details as to the resources which those various alliances offer, as to the faith that may be given to them, and as to the means of conciliating the greatest number of Indian nations.

He shall not lose sight of the fact that the French government wishes peace, but that if war should come, Louisiana would certainly become the theater of hostilities.

Consequently, while showing the most peaceful intentions, he shall neglect nothing to put the colony in a respectable state [of defense], and to report to the government the colony in all the relations that may determine his plan of operation of any nature in that possession.

The captain-general shall distribute the three thousand soldiers under his orders as appears suitable to him.

The Spanish government relied greatly for the defense of the colony on several battalions of militia which were organized there. That militia, consisting of all classes of the inhabitants, is said to be very suitable for war, since they all – French, German, Acadians, or their descendants – have been accustomed to the use of arms from infancy.

To that militia are attached a few small bodies of free negroes or mulattoes, of whom apparently no complaint has been made.

The captain-general shall organize that militia into a national guard, after he shall have taken the census, of which it will be advisable to inform the government speedily; for from the reports made on this matter, there results a very great uncertainty as to their number. Some reports are as high as seven thousand or eight thousand men, and others near twenty thousand.

The artillery, arms, ammunition, effects, magazines, hospitals, ships, etc., belonging to the king of Spain, shall be turned over to the Republic on the basis of the appraisal to be made of them, and may be utilized without delay by the captain-general according to the need.

The captain-general is the bearer of the order of the king of Spain to his governor of Louisiana, so that the latter may transfer that province to the former at his arrival.[164] The details of the order will show the governor that the intention of his Catholic Majesty is that the colony be transferred with all its means of defense and even with the troop, who may desire to pass under the banners of the Republic.

The captain-general shall administer the oath of allegiance to those of the troops who wish to attach themselves to the Republic, and according to their branch and name, shall send a report of the same to the minister [of marine?]. He shall organize them provisionally

[164] This order, published in a royal decree, apparently sent to the intendant, October 15, 1802, ordered Louisiana to be transferred to the French general, Victor, or any other officer duly commissioned. All Spanish officers and troops were to leave the territory except those who chose to remain in the French service. All treasury papers were to be taken to Spain in order to settle the accounts of the colony. Appraisements were to be made of all the war stores, etc., in order that adjustments with France might be made concerning them. The hope is expressed that all ecclesiastical persons will be protected and retained in employment; that the courts be maintained; that the inhabitants be protected in their property rights. See: *State Papers*, doc. 121, 20th congress, second session (Washington, 1828), 161-163.

into a corps, or shall incorporate them into French half-brigades as he may deem preferable.

It is important to have reports sent to the government of all the details relative to fortifications and the means found there for their defense. The reports which shall be drawn up shall distinguish what shall be destined for the defense proper of the colony, what shall be necessary for the fitting out of siege equipment, and finally, what shall be necessary for field equipment.

The intention of the First Consul is to give Louisiana a degree of strength which will permit him to abandon it without fear in time of war, so that its enemies may be forced to the greatest sacrifices merely in attempting an attack on it.

One of the first cares of the captain-general shall be to decide on a fixed plan of defense, in which the chiefs of the engineers and of the artillery shall assist. That plan shall be sent to the government, as well as all the plans of the roadsteads and maritime resources which its coast offers.

They shall be accompanied by all the directions proper to make that coast more intimately known, and to assign the anchorages or places of refuge which should be preferred by the state vessels of various classes, which may be sent either to protect the colony or to supply it.

The inconveniences or advantages of the roadsteads of the Balize, of that of Ship Island [île aux Vaisseau], or any other, shall be presented there in all the military reports and in all those of simple communication with the colony.

The port of Pensacola becomes important for our operations because of its nearness. A plan of it with explanations by the most skilful men in matters of navigations shall be sent to the minister.

One means of fortifying the colony will be that of peopling it abundantly. All emigrants from Europe must, therefore, be hospitably welcomed.

As to emigrants from the United States, they will demand more prudence, and must be permitted [to enter] because of the capital which they will pour into Louisiana, rather than with respect to a population which could end, perhaps, by becoming dangerous.

American emigrants must be settled only near the best affected settlements.

English customs shall be rejected. The use of the French language shall be the only one welcomed, and the favor of the government shall be particularly attached to everything that may recall the mother country and its customs. If the persons employed, either in the army or in the government departments, ask concessions of land, their requests shall be received in proportion to the cash that they shall be able to consecrate to their culture, and to their conditions of improving it, failure to observe which shall annul the concession. A report shall be made in regard to the manner and conditions of the concessions granted hitherto by the Spanish government. A plan shall be presented in this regard which shall be submitted to the consuls [i.e., Napoleon and his colleagues]. The magistrates of the colony shall especially prevent every outside venality to the treasury in regard to concessions. They shall establish as a rule that a concession of land may not be transferred from one person to another, if the grantee shall not have improved at least one third of his concession.

It may happen that the Indian nations may have war with the United States. They desire to regard us as their protectors. All that may bind them to us must be granted them according to their wishes, but everything

that would occasion the establishment of quarrels with the United States must be avoided.

If it has been recommended hitherto to conciliate the friendship of the neighboring peoples, not less necessary is it to nourish the sentiments of affection which the Louisianians have preserved for France. The intention of the consuls is to advance their welfare. They must, therefore, be treated with all the consideration which their memorable attachment to the French commands. Their fortunes, their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices must be respected. Religion shall be maintained in all its dignity. Priests shall only be required to conform to the laws of the Concordat. Religious corporations or national domains shall not be subject to any innovation, until after the report which shall be made to the minister, when the intentions of the government should be transmitted to the administrators of Louisiana.

Imposts shall continue in force as at present. The government shall be informed of their quota [*quotité*], of their net amount [*acsiete*], of their gross amount [*montant*], and of the modifications or increases of which that branch may be susceptible, but which shall be adopted only after a mature examination.

One part of the colony – that situated in the lowest latitudes – is cultivated by slaves. That régime shall be maintained, as it has been in various colonies by the law of an x, 30 Floréal [i.e., May 19, 1801]; but trade in slaves shall be made only with Africa, and no slaves shall be received in Louisiana that come from the American colonies, as this is the only means of preserving Louisiana from the moral contagion that has infected those colonies.

Those persons who go to Louisiana who have only

their industry [as an asset] must be sent into the northern part. The authority shall intervene, whenever necessary so that men dangerous to the rural system of Lower Louisiana may never go farther south than the Arkansas River or of any other boundary that may be assigned by the captain-general after he has become acquainted with the regions.

Such are the orders that the First Consul gives as a rule of conduct to the captain-general of Louisiana.

Louisiana has been too little known hitherto for more positive instructions to be given to the magistrates charged with its administration. To them is confided the noble task of making the French government blessed in a country where all hearts call it. Nature has done everything for that vast country – delightful climate, prodigious fertility, diversity of products, admirable location, all unite to favor the wisdom of the administration that is intended for it.

The First Consul expects from the zeal of each of the magistrates, whom he delegates for that country, the greatest success of that administration, and from the concert that will exist between them, all the harmony necessary for the happiness of that important colony.

They shall not lose sight of the fact that it is by respecting mutually the powers entrusted to each one that they will fulfil the intentions of the government, honor themselves, and clear themselves from the taint of every imputation contrary to the dignity of their magistracy.

(Signed) DECRES[165]

[165] Duc Denis Decrés was born in Chaumont, June 18, 1761, and died at Paris, December 7, 1820. He entered the French navy in 1779, where he speedily distinguished himself in various actions. Being of noble rank, he was arrested and disqualified at the time of the French Revolution, but was later restored to public life. In October, 1801, he was appointed naval minister for France, which position he held until the fall of the empire.

II. INSTRUCTIONS FOR CITIZEN LAUSSAT,[166] PARIS

An xi, 16 Frimaire [i.e., December 7, 1802].

You have received, Citizen Prefect, all the instructions relative to the expedition of Louisiana and to the important functions which you are to discharge there.

The First Consul has considered it important for the interest of the expedition which is about to set out from Holland, that you precede it by a state vessel in order that, having reached Louisiana before that expedition, you may be able to prepare everything necessary to receive it.

By the several documents annexed to your instructions, you know that the orders given by his Catholic Majesty for the retrocession extend to whatever means of defense and supply are found in the colony.

You shall then proceed to make an examination of all the objects which the commandant of the colony for his Majesty and its administrators shall be obliged to send to Captain-general Victor who has been charged by the First Consul to take possession of the colony in the name of the French Republic.

I shall not enter, then, into any detail on the conduct

[166] Pierre Clement Laussat was appointed colonial prefect of Louisiana for France on the retrocession by Spain of that province, at a salary of 50,000 francs. He sailed for New Orleans January 12, 1803, and reached that port, March 26. His proclamation [see: Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii, 600-605], letters, and, throughout, his course in Louisiana prove him to have been an honorable, keen man. He had little liking for the Spanish and not much more for the Americans. His disappointment at having to transfer Louisiana to the Americans was great. See: his *Mémoires sur ma vie* (Pau, 1831); Du Terrage, Villiers. *Dernières années*, 395-438; and Gayarré. *History*, vol. iii.

He wrote to Morales, October 8, 1803, informing him that he had received orders for the delivery of Louisiana to the United States. The delivery, however, was not to take place until after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty by France and the United States. See: *State Papers*, 20th congress, second session, 201.

which you are to employ toward the Spanish governors and the inhabitants. Your knowledge of the intentions of the First Consul for the welfare of that colony will dictate to you everything that it will be proper to establish on your arrival for the relations of confidence, affection, regard, and dignity which are to mark your presence in the colony.

I enclose here a letter to the Marquis de Sommeruelos informing him of the object of your mission, and which you will transmit to him after sealing.

The brig of war, Surveillant, Captain Josset, which is to take at Rochefort six hundred thousand francs destined for Louisiana, is to be prepared to take you aboard. As soon as you shall embark, it will weigh anchor for Louisiana.

Nevertheless, since there is an important sum to be received at Santander for San Domingo, the brig will touch at that Spanish port only long enough to receive the money in question.

Thence, the vessel will sail directly to the Cape [Français], on the Island of San Domingo, where it is expressly ordered not to stop longer than the time absolutely necessary for the discharging of the money to be received at Santander, as it is the intention of the First Consul to have it proceed immediately on its route to transport you to Louisiana, where the interest of the service demands your most prompt arrival.

The chief of battalion of the engineer division, Chevalier Vinache, has been ordered to go with you, in order to execute, under your orders, all that concerns the military part of what is the object of your mission.

DECRES.